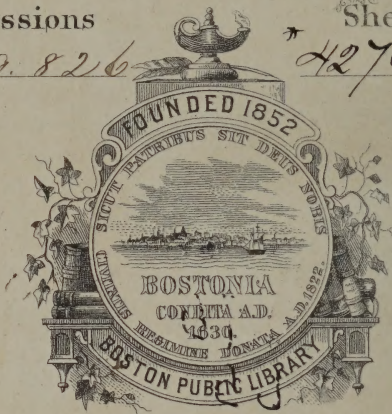


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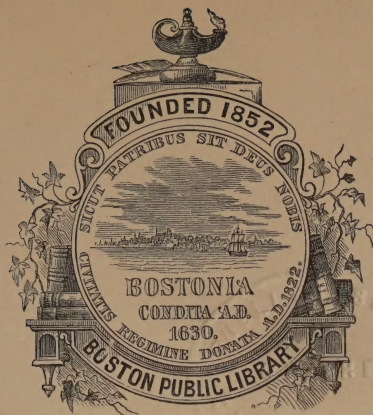
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PAMPHLETS.

Jamaica.

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JAMAICA.

T H E S P E E C H

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OF

W. BURGE, Esq. Q. C.,

AGENT FOR JAMAICA,

AT THE BAR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

AGAINST

T H E B I L L

INTITULED

“AN ACT to make temporary Provision for the
Government of Jamaica.”

MONDAY, 22nd APRIL 1839.

LONDON:

CALKIN & BUDD, BOOKSELLERS TO HER MAJESTY, PALL MALL;
SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS' COURT;
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THE SPEECH.

MR. SPEAKER,

I APPEAR at the bar of this Honourable House as the agent of Jamaica, holding that office under the authority of Acts of its legislature. I am here to defend the people of that colony, and to invoke for them the protection of the House against the Bill which has been just read—a Bill which inflicts upon the people of that colony a punishment of unexampled extent, which could only have been merited, if they had committed a crime of the deepest dye against this country, but for which the pretext assigned in the preamble of the Bill, affords not the slightest foundation.

The punishment, Sir, which this Bill would inflict on the people of Jamaica is no less than the forfeiture of their constitution—a forfeiture of that representative part of it which gives to them the power of participating in the making of those laws by which they are to be governed, and which gives to them that security for their properties which is derived from the constitutional principle, that no man's property shall be taken from him without his consent, given by himself, or by his representatives in Parliament.

Sir, this punishment is further aggravated by the species of government which the Bill substitutes for the free constitution of Jamaica. Instead of that free constitution, it proposes to create a government of pure and absolute despotism. It proposes to transfer all the legislative and executive powers of the government to a body composed of a Governor and Council,

persons nominated by the Crown, and whose existence continues only at the pleasure of the Crown or of its representative, and it proposes further to transfer to that body the power of raising and appropriating a large annual revenue, unchecked and uncontrolled by the people or their representatives.

Sir, this punishment, excessive as it is, admits of even a further aggravation, by the extraordinary circumstance I am now about to mention. The people upon whom this punishment is to be inflicted are not here, and are not represented in this House. The first intimation they will have of the attempt to inflict upon them this punishment will be that which announces to them that the punishment itself has been inflicted, if this Bill should pass into a law, before they know the charge or pretext upon which it is inflicted, and before, therefore, they have the means of repelling the charge, destroying the pretext, and vindicating and protecting the rights which they have hitherto enjoyed.

Sir, in the situation in which I stand, its responsibility, and the magnitude of the interests confided to me would fill me with dismay, rendering me wholly unequal to the duty I have to discharge, if I did not derive encouragement and support from knowing that the appeal which I make on behalf of the rights of the people of Jamaica is made to a British House of Commons—the sanctuary and refuge of all those whose rights are invaded, and more especially those rights which are so dear to a British House of Commons as the right of representation—the right of participation in the making of those laws by which they are to be governed, and the right of being themselves the parties to give and appropriate their property to the public service. I am persuaded that this House must and will identify itself in feeling with the people who are vindicating those rights.

Sir, I derive also support—and considerable support—from knowing that the great body of proprie-

tors, and other persons interested in Jamaica, who are resident in Great Britain, have not stood aloof when this blow has been meditated against the constitution of that colony. They have not manifested an indifference to the country to which they are attached by so many ties—to which they are deeply indebted—from which many of them have derived the means by which they acquired their present station in society. They have felt alive to this attack—they have conveyed to the House their opposition to this measure, and they will have the benefit of most valuable assistance in urging that opposition.

I am aware, Sir, that there are some few individuals, a tenth part of a very large and numerous meeting, who entertain a different opinion respecting the effect of this Bill. I complain not that they entertain it, because they had the manliness and the fairness to come forward and discuss it at a public meeting. They were unable to influence the sentiments of that meeting. The large majority were opposed to them. The sense of the Jamaica proprietary body was expressed to be adverse to this Bill.

But, Sir, I do complain of private unauthorized suggestions made to the Government, by two or three individuals, having comparatively a very inconsiderable interest in the colony, and no local experience whatever, who have not met their fellow-colonists at the public meetings which have been held. And, I should still more loudly complain of the suggestions made by these persons, of their own particular view on the subject of this Bill, if I could believe it possible that Her Majesty's Government could bestow on them the slightest attention. I am persuaded Her Majesty's Government will never regard suggestions proceeding from unauthorized individuals. They will look only to the opinions expressed at the public meetings of the Jamaica proprietors, and conveyed to Her Majesty's Government as the resolutions of those meetings.

Sir, in order that the House may be fully aware of the extent of the injury which this Bill would inflict on the people of Jamaica, it is right I should put the House in possession of the nature of the constitution which this Bill would destroy ; and I am the more desirous of doing so, because I can easily believe that, from the particular nature of the subjects connected with the West India colonies, which, for many years, have engaged the attention of the House and the public, there are too many who are not so well acquainted as they otherwise might have been, with the constitutions of our different colonies, and with their distinguishing characteristics. It will be my duty to give, and I trust the House will not consider it an unprofitable occupation of a small portion of its time to hear, a short account of the constitution of Jamaica, of its origin and the principles upon which it is founded, and the respect it has been accustomed to receive from the Government of this country upon every occasion, when the intemperate conduct either of a Ministry or of a Governor has assailed or placed in jeopardy any of the rights and privileges which that constitution conferred.

Sir, the government of Jamaica, according to its constitution, consists of the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, represented in the colony by a Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, and a Council, a body which has never been composed of more than twelve persons, five of whom are sufficient to constitute a board ; they are nominated by the Crown, and hold their seats as members of the Council at the pleasure of the Crown. They may be suspended even by the Governor himself, and may be appointed by him when the number is reduced to less than seven. This body forms also the Executive Council, as well as the Legislative Council. Besides these two branches of the legislature, there is an Assembly, consisting of forty-five members, chosen by the freeholders of the respective districts which they represent.

This form of government is contemporaneous almost with the first settlement of the colony. When Jamaica became a part of the British Empire, her population were not the conquered inhabitants of a foreign state, but they were, in fact, the original settlers; those who resorted thither not only with the permission, but by the invitation and encouragement of the Sovereign. They were, in fact, British subjects leaving England with the permission of the Sovereign, and who became, therefore, upon principles of constitutional law, which have never been doubted, entitled to carry with them, and they did carry with them, all the rights and privileges of British-born subjects: so that, when a form of government had to be given to them as British subjects thus settled in the colony, no form of government could be given to them less free than that of England. Incapable, in consequence of their absence from this country of participating in legislation here, incapable of being represented here, they of necessity required a representative government in the colony to which they resorted.

In the interval between the original settlement of the colony in 1655, and down to the period when Colonel D'Oyley obtained his commission, the inhabitants were occupied in preventing incursions from the opposite coast of the Spanish colony; and it was not till the year 1660 that we have extant the commission granted to Colonel D'Oyley. By that commission he was to summon a council of twelve persons; but those twelve persons were to be elected by the freeholders of the colony. Shortly after the Restoration, Charles the Second issued his proclamation, and that proclamation was either an original grant to the people of Jamaica of their rights and privileges, or, which I believe to be a more correct representation, it was a guarantee and confirmation of those rights which they carried with them from England, and which they then possessed.

I will take the liberty of reading part of that pro-

clamation. It is dated 4th December 1661. It is a solemn recognition of those rights to which, in the construction it has received, and in the protection which it has afforded to them, the people of Jamaica were entitled. It has been regarded as the guarantee of the Jamaica constitution and of the rights of the people of that colony. It begins with this recital: "We, being fully satisfied that our Island of Jamaica being a pleasant and most fertile soil, and situate commodiously for trade and commerce, is likely through God's blessing to be of great benefit and advantage to this and other our kingdoms and dominions, have thought fit, for encouraging of our subjects, as well such as are already upon the said island as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to declare and publish, and We do hereby declare and publish." Then it contains several provisions relative to the grant of lands to the settlers, and then comes this important declaration: "And we do further publish and declare, that all children of any of our natural-born subjects of England to be born in Jamaica shall from their respective births be reputed to be, and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-born subjects of England; and that all free persons shall have liberty without interruption to transport themselves and their families, and any their goods (except only coin and bullion), from any of our dominions and territories to the said Island of Jamaica."

With this commission Lord Windsor arrived in the island as the Governor. It would have been his duty, for the purpose of giving effect to that declaration of the Sovereign, confirming to the people of Jamaica, and their descendants, all the rights and privileges of free-born subjects; to have granted them that which is one of the most valuable of the rights and privileges of English subjects, a representative government. But he was expressly required to grant them that represent-

ative government in the instructions which accompanied and were referred to in his commission. His commission and instructions are to be found in the journals of the House of Assembly, in the appendix. The 20th article is in these words, " You shall have power, with the advice of the Council, to call assemblies together according to the custom of our plantations, to make laws and, upon eminent necessities, to levy monies, as shall be most conducive to the honour and advantage of our Crown and the good and welfare of our subjects."

Lord Windsor appears to have resided in the colony only a very short time. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Lyttleton. From the period of his arrival assemblies were held, and laws passed. Sir Charles Lyttleton was succeeded by Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Thomas Lynch, and afterwards by Lord Vaughan; and from that period down to 1764 assemblies were regularly convened and laws passed by them; and at that period it appears there were thirty-two representatives in Assembly.

Connected with this period of the history of the Jamaica constitution, I may refer to a communication which Sir Charles Lyttleton made to the then Chancellor of England, in which he describes the character of the government, and the principles upon which its administration might be most beneficially conducted. He observes, "The government is plain and easy, and was not truly, if I may have the liberty to say so, very disagreeable. The people are, generally, easy to be governed, yet apter to be led than driven." This is a sound principle, which succeeding Governors have found it not only most for their own ease, but also most for the benefit of the colony, to adopt. I am quite sure it is well worthy of adoption by that part of the Government in this country which presides over the colonies.

In the year 1677 the ministry of Charles the Second

formed a scheme for introducing into the colony Poyning's Law. In other words, the Assembly was required to pass, without any alteration, laws which had been previously prepared in this country. They were to have the semblance of being Acts of the legislature of Jamaica, when, in truth, they had been previously framed by the Ministry in this country.

The proceedings connected with this important period of the history of Jamaica deserve the attention of the House. They show that at this period, upon the most ample consideration given to the rights and privileges of the people of Jamaica and the principles upon which they rested, it was found that such a scheme was incompatible with and subversive of those rights and privileges; and it was admitted that the colony ought to be left to the free exercise of all the rights and privileges of its representative government, and, necessarily, to free deliberation upon all the subjects of their legislation.

This attempt originated in some previous resistance by the Assembly to an unconstitutional interference with their rights by the Government at home. A Report of the Board of Trade was made, by which it was recommended that the Government should send out a commission, and instructions which in effect invested the Government in England with the sole power of legislating for the colony, since the Assembly was merely to give its assent to the laws transmitted to them. The Report of the Board of Trade contains this passage: "We have, pursuant to your Majesty's orders, prepared a body of laws, such as the Right honourable the Earl of Carlisle may be empowered to carry with him, and to offer unto the Assembly of Jamaica for their consent. Those laws were such that they may be consented unto as laws originally coming from your Majesty, and that for the future no Legislative Assembly be called without your Majesty's special directions, but that upon emergencies,

the Governor is to acquaint your Majesty, by letters, with the necessity of calling such Assembly, and pray your Majesty's consent and directions for their meeting, and at the same time present unto your Majesty a scheme of such Acts as he shall think fit and necessary, that your Majesty may take the same into consideration, and return them in the form wherein your Majesty shall think fit that they may be enacted; that the Governor, upon receipt of your Majesty's commands, shall then summon an assembly, and propose the said laws for their consent; so that the same method in legislative matters be made use of in Jamaica as in Ireland, according to the form prescribed by Poyning's Law; and that therefore the present style of enacting laws, 'by the Governors, Councils and Representatives of the Commons assembled,' be converted into the style of 'Be it Enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the General Assembly.'"

Lord Carlisle arrived in Jamaica on the 19th of July, 1678, with a commission prepared according to this report, and with instructions to give effect to it. He presented to the Assembly, in 1678, a body of laws framed in England, and called upon the Assembly to give effect to them. One by one the Assembly rejected those laws thus offered to them. The Governor attempted to enforce the views of the Government. The history of that period exhibits instances of tyrannical and oppressive conduct by the Governor,—the imprisonment of the members who were most resolute in maintaining their constitutional rights. Some of those members, and among others, the person filling the office of Chief Justice and Speaker of the Assembly, were sent as prisoners to England. But the justice of their resistance to this attack on their constitutional rights, became the subject of solemn deliberation by the Privy Council, assisted by the Chief Justice North. They examined the right of

the people of Jamaica under their constitution, to a free representative government. They decided in favour of that right. The scheme was abandoned, and the rights of the people of Jamaica were recognized as inalienably attached to them, and as derived from the constitution of England. Lord Carlisle's commission was revoked; a new commission was granted to him, and that commission recognizes the full power of legislation which was claimed by the representative body of Jamaica. The new commission which was granted to the Governor, after this decision, gives to him this power. "And we do hereby give and grant unto you, with the advice and consent of the said Council, full power and authority from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters within the said island, and other the territories under your government, in such manner and form as hath been formerly practised and used in the said Island of Jamaica." Then comes the declaration, "That all such laws, statutes and ordinances of what nature or duration soever passed by them, be, within three months, or by the first conveyance after the making the same, transmitted unto us, under the public seal, for our allowance and approbation of them, as also duplicates thereof, by the next conveyance; and in case all or any of them be not before confirmed by us, shall at any time be disallowed and not approved, and so signified by us, our heirs or successors, under our or their sign manual or signet, or by order of our or their Privy Council, unto you the said Charles Earl of Carlisle, or to the Commander-in-Chief of our said island for the time being, then such or so many of them as shall be so disallowed and not approved, shall from thenceforth cease, determine and be utterly void, and of none effect, any thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

Thus the House will perceive that the ultimate

decision of the Government, was a vindication of the rights of the Assembly. There was conferred on the Governor the power of calling general assemblies, and giving to the laws they passed full operation and effect, from the time they were passed, subject to be disallowed by the Crown, but until that disallowance was notified they were to have full force and operation, if they had received the assent of the three branches of the Jamaica legislature, namely, the Governor, Council and Assembly.

Sir, the Government of that day not only acted with justice, but they acted also with a spirit of conciliation. They sent as the Governor, in the room of Lord Carlisle, Sir Thomas Lynch, who had been previously Governor of the colony; and, in a speech with which he opened the Assembly, under the commission which I have just now read, he says, "The circumstance of my having been previously in the island was a consideration and with a view of giving satisfaction to the Assembly, that the King and his ministers had been moved to send me again; that all those passions that have so long agitated you might be calmed and everything that gave you umbrage removed."

Here then, Sir, was the constitution rescued from the attack which was made by the ministry of Charles the Second, and the rights and privileges of the people of Jamaica completely secured to them.

An interval of some years followed, during which an attempt was made by the Government to extort from the people of Jamaica a permanent revenue, resembling the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties which had been exacted from the people of Barbadoes. The Assembly of Jamaica resisted also, and with equal success, this attempt. They refused to grant any revenue permanently, unless they were secured that it would be appropriated to the purposes of the colony. The consequence of this resistance on their part was an attempt by the Government to deprive them of the

common and statute law of England, and, in fact, to disallow the operation of any Acts which recognized it in the colony. But the Assembly remained unshaken in their purpose to maintain that which they considered their duty as representing the people of Jamaica. Notwithstanding dissolutions followed dissolutions, as well as prorogations prorogations, to a very considerable extent, during the interval which elapsed, yet ultimately the Assembly of Jamaica triumphed.

In 1728, the first year of the reign of George the Second, the Assembly passed a law, by which the Crown gave up to the island the quit-rents, and accepted a revenue from Jamaica of a certain annual amount, but at the same time acceded to the conditions upon which alone the Jamaica Assembly would grant it, namely, that the Act which did grant it should contain also a specification of the particular services to which it was to be applied. That law contains this express enactment: "That all the acts and laws of this island which determined and expired on the first day of October in the year of our Lord 1724, and not hereby, or by any former Act of the Governor, Council and Assembly, now in force, altered or repealed, shall be, and are hereby revived and declared to be, perpetual; and also all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted or received as laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica for ever."

This, Sir, was the last of the struggles made on the part of the Government to deprive the people of Jamaica of the rights to which, as British subjects, they and their ancestors were entitled on the first settlement of the island, which had been guaranteed to them by the proclamation of Charles the Second in 1661, and which they have continued to enjoy down to this day.

Sir, between thirty or forty years afterwards, that

period arrived to which I believe there is no Englishman who does not look back with feelings of shame and sorrow, and who, in tracing the history of his country, does not hastily turn over those of its pages which describe the obstinacy, the indiscretion, the madness and the injustice of the parent state towards her subjects in North America. But, the ways of God are vindicated to man in the retribution which falls upon states when they forget the justice which they owe to their subjects. The day of retribution did arrive; the injustice towards the people of our North American possessions was visited with the loss of that valuable part of the British Empire.

At length, in the year 1778, after having shaken the confidence and weakened the attachment of all the colonies, this country resolved on endeavouring to regain their attachment, and revive their confidence by the passing of the Act by which the King and the Parliament solemnly pledged to all the colonies in America and the West Indies, the national faith, that there should be no tax, duty, burden or penalty imposed upon them, but through their representatives in Assembly, except duties in respect of the trade, navigation and commerce of the empire; but the proceeds of which, although raised by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, were left to be appropriated to the service of each colony by its own Assembly.

Sir, that solemn pledge, given by the Act of the 18th of George III., cap. 12, is presented to the notice of this House, and continually renewed as often as you have to renew the Act for the regulation of trade with our British West India possessions. You find it, for instance, in the sixth of George IV., cap. 114; and again, in the third and fourth of William IV., cap. 59, you have this enactment, "That nothing contained in this Act, or in any other passed in the present Session of Parliament, shall extend to repeal or abrogate, or in any way to alter or affect an Act passed in the 18th year

of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third, intituled 'An Act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, in any of the Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North America and the West Indies, and for repealing so much of an Act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty as imposes a Duty on Tea imported from Great Britain into any Colony or Plantation in America, as relates thereto.' "

Now, Sir, with respect to those duties which the Act does impose, those are duties of revenue ; and there is in it an express clause directing that they shall be paid into the hands of the Receiver-general of the colony, in order that they may be appropriated in such manner as the Assembly of the colony shall from time to time direct. Thus, even when Parliament is exerting that power which it possesses, of imposing duties in respect of the trade, commerce and navigation of the empire, it respects the pledge which has been given ; it takes not those duties for its own use, but leaves them to be received by the Colonial Treasurer, and applied by the Colonial Assembly.

Sir, of the constitution of Jamaica, whether I advert to the source from which it was derived, or its subsequent solemn recognition, or its enjoyment, or the struggles made for its preservation, or the success which attended those struggles, I may say, it was a constitution perfectly free. To Jamaica I may apply the language of Mr. Burke, who has been most justly called the greatest practical philosopher whom the world ever saw : "She had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns ; she had the image of the British constitution ; she had the substance ; she was taxed by her own representatives ; she chose most of her own magistrates ; she paid them all ; she had, in effect, the sole disposal of her own internal government."

Such, Sir, is the constitution possessed by Jamaica ; such is the constitution which this Bill is to destroy. I know I may be told that the constitution of Jamaica is to be suspended only for a limited time, for some few years. But, Sir, I cannot estimate the extent of this wrong by the length or shortness of the period during which the people of Jamaica are to be deprived of their constitution. Be it for five years, or for only one hour that they are put out of the pale and protection of the British constitution, they would sustain too great a wrong for British subjects to receive, or for this House to inflict.

But this Bill will entail on them the despotism of this new government, even after it shall have ceased by the effluxion of these five years, for the laws and statutes which this new government is to make, may have *perpetual operation*. Every law and every statute which has previously been in existence in Jamaica may be repealed ; new laws and new statutes may be passed ; and if the government of Jamaica were, at the expiration of five years restored to its former freedom, it will be restored only upon finding that there may be a body of laws in existence which may have perpetual duration, and their former laws for ever repealed, unless the Governor and Council concurred with the Assembly in repealing the one and reviving the other.

Sir, I shall have occasion presently, when I advert to the course pursued on a recent occasion, to contrast the proposed enactments of this Bill with the enactments introduced into this House to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada after that province had been in rebellion. I shall show you that in this Bill there is not the same security or the same anxiety as was apparent in the Lower Canada Bill, that the laws which the new government might frame should be of temporary duration only, and that upon certain subjects it should possess no power of legislation.

Sir, this Bill whilst it *destroys* the constitution of Jamaica substitutes, as I have said, a new government which is to unite the whole legislative and executive functions of the state in the mere nominees of the Crown. Although the Crown and the Parliament have by the Statute 18th of George the Third, c. 12, renounced for themselves the power to tax the people of the colony, this Bill, if it passed into a law, would give that which they had renounced to the nominees of the Crown. It is proposed by this Bill to place in the power and at the disposal of this body, composed of persons nominated by the Crown, and removable by the Crown at its pleasure, the means of levying an annual revenue of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds upon the people of Jamaica, and of appropriating that sum for any purposes they please; yet a British House of Commons, jealous as it has always been of placing such a power beyond its own reach, and jealous as it must be of placing it beyond the reach of that body which represents the people of Jamaica, is asked to sanction a measure which places this large annual revenue of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds at the sole disposal of the Crown, or at least of those who are the nominees of the Crown.

Sir, it is not only in respect of the provisions of this Bill, and the species of despotism which it substitutes for the free constitution of Jamaica, that in the name and on behalf of the people of that colony I complain. I also complain of the circumstances under which this Bill of heavy pains and penalties is brought into this House. No communication was ever made to the Assembly of any intention to propose a measure which should deprive them of their right to a representative assembly. No intimation whatever was ever given to them that any such measure as that which is now before this House was in contemplation. At this hour they are ignorant of it. They have not supposed Her Majesty's Government could be capable

of bringing forward such a measure. Much as they have had to complain of the conduct which they have experienced from the Government, yet it has not yet excited in them so much distrust of the principles of the Government as to impute to Her Majesty's Ministers the desire of destroying the free constitution of Jamaica.

Sir, this scheme, this new form of government for Jamaica, was not intimated even to the individual who has now the honour of addressing you, although he holds, under the laws of the colony, the office of its agent; until the day before that on which the notice was given of a motion for bringing this Bill into the House.

Sir, was there not a reckless indifference to the interests of this great colony? Was there not an utter disregard of the spirit of conciliation with which the Ministers of the Crown ought to act towards a colony, in leaving not only the people of Jamaica, but their agent, wholly unapprized of a measure of such vital importance to them. He was afforded no opportunity of conferring with the Ministers on the nature of this measure; and of urging the considerations which should induce them not to persevere in bringing it into this House.

Sir, the agent of the colony received no intimation of it, which he certainly, from his office, had a right to expect. He had a further right to expect it, likewise, because he asked to receive, and he was told he should receive, an intimation of it before the Government had decided upon it. He knew if the Government had decided, there was little prospect of his being able to alter their decision, and that such intimation could be of no advantage to him, if it was given him only after the measure had been decided upon by the Cabinet a few hours before it was announced here.

Sir, amongst the many circumstances connected with the introduction of this measure which must excite strong emotion, one, and not the least, is the

source from which it emanates, the Ministry by whom this Bill is brought forward. This Bill, which takes away from the people of Jamaica the representative part, the liberal part of their constitution, that which constitutes and secures the most important of the rights and liberties of the subject, is introduced and recommended to the House by a Ministry who sought, who retain, and who can only claim to retain power and office by the profession of an attachment to *liberal* principles of government; a Ministry who destroyed existing institutions because they were not sufficiently liberal, sufficiently enlarged to promote the principles of representative government. Yet this Ministry, by their present conduct towards Jamaica, are renouncing every principle and disregarding every profession by which they have won their way to office, and by which they seek to retain it.

Sir, I would recal to the recollection of the House, that this same Ministry professed to apply and to be governed by these principles, in dealing with the province of Lower Canada. In 1831, Lower Canada received a grant of a part of the revenue of the Crown, upon the condition which, although not expressed in the Act, was well understood, and which ought in honour to have been observed, that they should settle a permanent revenue for the civil service of the colony. For five years and upwards did the Assembly of Lower Canada refuse to raise any supplies; they wholly suspended the payment of the salaries of the civil servants, and in short arrested, as far as it was possible, the progress of the whole civil government. What was the course adopted by Her Majesty's Ministers upon that occasion? Did they come to this House and introduce a Bill, suspending the constitution of Canada? No; they were content to pass certain resolutions, and by one of those resolutions to authorize the application of a part of the revenue of the province to the purposes of the civil government. But even that resolution was not enforced. They, the

Ministers, came down to this House, at the end of the Session, to take from the Treasury of this country the means by which they might defray the expenses of the civil government of Lower Canada.

Sir, we must presume that the forbearance of the Ministry towards the Assembly and people of Lower Canada, originated solely in tenderness for the constitution of that colony, and for the rights and liberties of the subject ; in their reluctance to abandon the liberal principles which they professed ; in their strong repugnance to call upon this House and the country to assist them in taking away the representative government of Lower Canada. That was not all, Sir. What was the ground upon which the Assembly of Lower Canada refused to grant any supplies ? Was it in the just maintenance of their constitution ? No, Sir, it was because their demand that certain organic changes in the constitution of Lower Canada, changes irreconcilable with the constitution of this country, was not complied with, that they, by refusing their supplies, withheld from the Crown the means of carrying on the civil government of that province. Whatever may be thought of the course pursued by the Ministry on that occasion, they would be unwilling to have it attributed to any other motive than that of tenderness and respect for popular institutions. Upon that ground, they forbore to do more than to communicate to the House of Assembly of Lower Canada the resolutions adopted by both Houses of Parliament, and invite the Assembly to resume its functions, and provide for the civil list. They did communicate their resolutions to the House of Assembly. But the House of Assembly of Lower Canada indignantly spurned them, and refused to proceed with any legislative business whatever ; and immediately afterwards you had the province in open rebellion against the parent state.

The following year, Sir, you had not only dissolutions, refusals of the supplies, the entire obstruction

of the civil government of Lower Canada, as the grounds on which the government invoked the interposition of Parliament, but you had the province in open rebellion to justify an alteration in the constitution of Lower Canada. There was not a speech delivered upon that occasion, on either side of the House, in which the necessity of the measure about to be taken, with respect to Lower Canada, was not deplored, and in which there was not evinced the greatest anxiety to justify that extreme measure, by the overwhelming necessity which existed. If the Ministry are entitled to any credit for the motives to which they attribute their forbearance towards the Assembly of Lower Canada, how can they reconcile with those motives totally opposite conduct on the present occasion, towards the Assembly of Jamaica. Sir, I should have asked this question, if the Assembly of Jamaica had exhibited the same conduct as had been exhibited by the Assembly of Lower Canada. But the loyalty and fidelity and good feeling of the people of Jamaica are such, that they never have exhibited and never will exhibit similar conduct. The conduct of the Assembly of Jamaica ought not to be mentioned in the same hour with that of the Assembly of Lower Canada, except for the purpose of showing the contrast.

Sir, the Assembly of Jamaica never withheld the supplies for the unlawful purpose of compelling the Government to adopt organic changes in their constitution. The Assembly of Jamaica did not withhold the supplies even for the just and legitimate purpose of maintaining its constitutional rights. That body would not embarrass the civil government of the colony by withholding the supplies; on the contrary, they expressly offer to provide them. Such is the import and effect of the resolution which they adopted for keeping faith with "the public creditor" of the island. The whole civil service of the government in Jamaica is in fact provided for by the As-

sembly. The officers composing the civil service are the "public creditors" of the island. This is the ordinary language, not used on the present occasion only, but on all similar occasions when the Assembly speak of the supplies, and the purposes for which they are raised.

Well, Sir, the conduct of Jamaica has not been a refusal of the supplies. There has been no demand on the part of the people of Jamaica for an organic change in their constitution. There has been no rebellion. But there was an assertion of their constitutional right of internal legislation; and yet, for no other act than the assertion of this right, the constitution of Jamaica, which has existed for nearly two centuries is to be taken away, and in its place is to be substituted a despotic government, which, when it has ceased to exist, may render the people, even on the restoration of their former constitution, still subject to the laws which this new government had enacted; and this extreme measure is to be taken at once, and by those very Ministers who ought, if they were sincere in their professions, and acted consistently with their professed principles, not merely to abstain from adopting any other course than that which they pursued towards Lower Canada in 1837, but to admit the soundness of the constitutional claim made by the Assembly of Jamaica.

Sir, I might present to the House a contrast between the two constitutions of Lower Canada and Jamaica? The constitution of Lower Canada was the creature of the Act of 1791, exceedingly qualified, because, with respect to many subjects, its legislature could not legislate absolutely, as that of Jamaica can. There are certain Acts with respect to which the Governor of Lower Canada may interpose and suspend their operation until a communication has been made from hence; but with respect to the Acts of Jamaica, the moment the Governor has given his assent to them, they be-

come positive obligatory laws ; and they cease to be so only when there has been an express disallowance of them by the Crown notified to the colony.

Now, Sir, I would ask, what is the act committed by the Assembly of Jamaica for which this heavy punishment is to be inflicted on that colony, and which act must be of such a nature as to place Her Majesty's Government in the situation of renouncing all their former principles, and disregarding all their professions. You will expect to hear that Jamaica has committed some gross outrage, inconsistent with her allegiance to the sovereign ; something approaching to the conduct of Lower Canada, and calling for a punishment similar to what was inflicted on that province. That I may discover the act for which this punishment is to be inflicted, I must look, as in all other Bills of pains and penalties, to the preamble of the Bill, because there I am to find it. There must be the cause assigned for it. Now, Sir, the preamble of this Bill is in these words, "Whereas the House of General Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, having been summoned to meet on the 17th of December 1838, to make, constitute and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances for the public welfare and good government of the said island ; and having met in pursuance of such summons, did then resolve that, *unless certain conditions should be complied with*, to which it is not expedient that Parliament should accede, they would abstain from the exercise of any legislative function, excepting such as might be necessary to preserve inviolate the faith of the island with the public creditors : And whereas it has thus become necessary that temporary provision should be made for making, constituting and ordaining laws, statutes and ordinances"—Now, Sir, this preamble does not represent what really passed in the Assembly previously to the 18th of December, on which day (and not on the 17th), the Assembly met, after the general election. The resolutions of

the Assembly on the occasion, when they met did not express any conditions, or make their further legislation depend on the compliance with any conditions.

Sir, I will take the liberty of reading the resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly: "Resolved, first, that the Act of the British Parliament, intituled 'An Act for the better Government of Prisons in the West Indies,' is a violation of our inherent rights as British subjects, as recognized by the constitution of this island and by the Act of Parliament, 18 George III. cap. 12; that the same has not and ought not to have the force of law in this island, and that the authorities will not be justified in acting on it. Resolved, secondly, that the violation of our rights by the Parliament of Great Britain, in which we are not represented, is the less excusable, inasmuch as the House was prepared to enter into the consideration of prison discipline as soon as the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner was officially before them. Resolved, thirdly, that the House have witnessed with the deepest regret the unmerited censure passed upon the inhabitants of this island, the extent to which the public mind in Great Britain has been poisoned against them, the absence of all confidence in the legislature, the reckless manner in which the laws passed by it have been disallowed, and the system of legislature for the colonies which has been determined on, whereby the power of the House has been fettered, and that body has ceased to exist for any purpose useful to the people whom they represent. Resolved, fourthly, therefore, that in the opinion of this House, they will best consult their own honour, the rights of their constituents, and the peace and well-being of the colony, by abstaining from the exercise of any legislative functions, excepting such as may be necessary to preserve inviolate the faith of the island with the public creditor, until Her Most Gracious

Majesty's pleasure shall be made known, whether Her subjects of Jamaica, now happily all in a state of freedom, are henceforth to be treated as subjects with the power of making laws as hitherto for their own government, or whether they are to be treated as a conquered colony, and governed by parliamentary legislation, orders in council, or, as in the case of the late amended Abolition Act, by investing the Governor of the island with the arbitrary power of issuing proclamations having the force of law over the lives and property of the people."

Sir, those resolutions were adopted on the 31st of October, the second day after the House of Assembly met, according to the terms of a former prorogation. Having passed those resolutions, the Governor prorogued the House for one day, when the Assembly again met, on the 3d of November, and adhered to the resolutions of the 31st of October. The Governor then, as he says, appealed to the "constituency" of the island; writs were issued for a general election, which took place, and the Assembly again met on the 18th of December, when their previous resolutions were confirmed.

Sir, according to those resolutions, the House of Assembly, considering that the "Act for the better Government of Prisons in the West Indies" (1 & 2 Vict. c. 67), was an interference with their right of internal legislation derived under their constitution, and hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed by them, made their appeal from Her Majesty's Government, by whom the Prisons Act had been introduced, under the circumstances I shall have occasion to detail to the House, to Her Majesty, and expressed their intention of abstaining from all legislation, except that of providing for the public supplies, until Her Majesty was pleased to give an answer to that appeal.

Now that is the act, and the only act, for which Her Majesty's Government calls upon the British

House of Commons to visit the people of Jamaica, by whose representative Assembly that act was committed, with the forfeiture of their constitution.

Sir, before I call the attention of the House to the particular enactments of the West India Prisons Act, I would humbly beg leave to state in what respect that Act does interfere with those rights of internal legislation which the colony of Jamaica possesses under her constitution, and which rights of internal legislation are perfectly reconcileable with that supreme superintending power which the Government and Parliament of this country necessarily possess over each part of the British empire.

Sir, there is a line capable of being drawn between the supreme superintending power of the Imperial Government and the right of internal legislation which is left in the possession of the colony. The people of that colony being British subjects, but not represented here, are entitled to have a representative government in the colony; because, if they have it not there, they have it no where, and to have it no where is not consistent with the British constitution, or with the rights which it confers on them as British subjects.

Now, Sir, if it is supposed that this line can have no existence because the supreme power is the judge whether that line has been transgressed, I would say that there is, at least, I hope there is, a sufficient security in the influence of that moral consideration which Mr. Burke addressed to a British Parliament, when its supremacy might encroach on the rights and privileges of the colony. "We are," says that great statesman, "indeed, in all disputes with the colonies, by the necessity of things, the judge. It is true, sir. But I confess that the character of judge in my own cause is a thing that frightens me; instead of filling me with pride, I am exceedingly humbled by it. I cannot proceed with a stern, assured judicial confidence, until I find myself in something more like a

judicial character ; I must have these hesitations as long as I am compelled to recollect, that in my little reading upon such contests as these, the sense of mankind has at least as often decided against the superior as the subordinate power ; for let me add, too, that the opinion of my having some abstract right in my favour, would not put me much at my ease in passing sentence, unless I could be sure that there were no rights which, in their exercise, under certain circumstances, were not the most odious of all wrongs, and the most vexatious of all injustice. Sir, these considerations have great weight with me when I find things so circumstanced, that I see the same party at once a civil litigant against me in point of right, and a culprit before me while I sit as criminal judge on acts of his whose moral quality is to be decided upon the merits of that very litigation. Men are every now and then put, by the complexity of human affairs, into strange situations ; but justice is the same, let the judge be in what situation he will."

Sir, so long as the House of Commons allows itself to be influenced by the great moral consideration which is thus urged, no person need apprehend any difficulty in drawing the line between the supreme superintending power of the state and the right of internal legislation, which is acknowledged to exist in the colony.

Sir, statesmen, whatever may be their political opinions, have invariably been disposed to respect the right of internal legislation, whilst they were maintaining the supreme superintending power of the Imperial Parliament.

Sir, upon one occasion, and it is a very memorable occasion, in 1782 that was effected for Ireland which Jamaica had obtained in the year 1678. Ireland obtained by the Declaratory Act in 1782 that which the constitution of Jamaica acquired by the proclamation of Charles the Second. In the debate on the affairs

of Ireland in that year, Mr. Fox used this language —“ And first with regard to the Act of the 6th of George I., it had always been his opinion out of office that it was downright tyranny to make laws for the internal government of a people who were not represented among those by whom such laws were made. This was an opinion so founded in justice, in reason, and in equity, that in no situation had he, or would he ever depart from it ; it was true, nevertheless, that he was not an enemy to the Declaratory Act which had been passed relative to America, yet his principles were not inconsistent nor incompatible with that Act. He had always made a *distinction between internal and external legislation*, and though it would be tyranny to attempt to enforce the former in countries not represented in the British Parliament ; yet he was clear that the latter was in reason and in policy annexed to the British legislature ; this right of prerogative or supremacy he was convinced would never have given umbrage to any part of the British Empire, if it had been used solely for the general good of the empire, but when it was made an instrument of tyranny and oppression, it was not to be thought wonderful that it should excite discontents, murmurings and opposition. When local legislatures were established in different parts of the empire, it was clear that it was for this purpose, that they might answer all municipal ends, and the great superintending power of the state ought not to be called into action, but in aid of the local legislature, and for the good of the empire at large.”

Sir, Mr. Pitt was equally opposed to interference with the internal legislation of a colony. In 1796, Sir Philip Francis was desirous of introducing into this House a Bill for the government of the slave population of the colonies. Upon that occasion, Mr. Pitt thus expressed himself, “ He cautioned the House against stirring a question of such a delicate nature ; it would only excite a spirit of jealousy, and defeat its own object. The House had relinquished

the power of making any alteration with respect to the property of the negroes ; it had given out of its own hand the powers of taxation in the colonies ; therefore if the stirring of any question was more dangerous than another, it was that to which he now adverted. If Parliament reserved its undoubted right to regulate every measure that relates to trade, it retained the power of abolishing the slave trade." Mr. Windham, upon the same occasion, expressed a similar opinion. The ground taken by Mr. Pitt for the abolition of the slave trade, was admitted by the opponents of that measure ; and those who appeared at the bar of this House against the Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, never, for one moment, doubted that it was peculiarly a subject on which the Imperial Parliament could alone legislate. The mother country had created this trade, and in her therefore was the right to abolish it.

Sir, this House has, on many occasions, recognized and adopted these principles. Sir, in 1815, the late Mr. Wilberforce introduced into this House a Bill for establishing a registry of slaves in the several colonies. The Assembly of Jamaica, and the great body of Jamaica proprietors in this country considered that the enactments of the details of that Bill would be an interference with the right of internal legislation. It would have been an act of internal legislation by the Imperial Parliament. What, Sir, was the course which Mr. Wilberforce pursued on that occasion ? He did not force his Bill through the House. He was contented that it should be printed, and laid on the table of the House, in order that the different colonial legislatures might be apprised of the feeling in this country that such a measure was necessary. The Assembly of Jamaica offered their remonstrances against that Bill, not in respect of the subject matter of its enactments, but because it was a direct interference with their right of internal legislation. They passed in their session, of 1815, certain resolu-

tions, which were brought under the notice of this House. They were treated by Mr. Wilberforce and by the Government as expressing the sentiments of a body jealous of its rights. No one presumed to consider them as deserving condemnation. I will read to the House those resolutions, "Resolved, that the inhabitants of this island have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of Parliament, and explain the condition of their country, and ought not to be bounden by laws, or touched and grieved by subsidies, fees or penalties, enacted, granted and imposed without their assent, other than such external regulations in respect of commerce as are necessary for the common weal of the empire. Resolved, that the inhabitants of this island have always acknowledged the power and authority of Parliament to make all laws necessary for the general benefit of the empire, or affecting the whole subjects thereof; for regulating our external relations, navigation, trade and commerce, and have not been disposed captiously to raise difficulties about the exact limits between this constitutional jurisdiction and the right of internal legislation."

In the opposition of the Assembly of Jamaica to internal legislation by the Imperial Parliament, many eminent persons in this country concurred. A strong repugnance to it was expressed by a noble Lord, a member of Her Majesty's Government, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lord Holland, in the House of Lords, on two occasions, expressed his decided objection to the Registry Bill, because it was a measure interfering with the *internal regulation* of the colony, and must lead to what he called *polemical legislation*. Mr. Wilberforce, I have already stated, proceeded no further with the Bill, in 1815, than to print and lay it on the table of the House. In 1816, Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, moved for certain papers connected with the colonies. Having,

in his speech, referred to the Registry Bill, Lord Holland made these observations : “ He approved, of the registration of slaves, and he had recommended to those who were concerned to pass and enforce it, but he had some doubts as to the expediency of it on *our part*. We should be cautious how we entered into a system of *polemical legislation* for our colonies. Though he should vote for the motion of his noble friend, in order that the House might have the fullest information respecting the condition of slaves in the West Indies, he had no hesitation in saying that of the wisdom of a Bill for the registration of slaves passing the British Parliament, he entertained very considerable doubts.” And he repeated it in a subsequent debate in the month of May following ; and, to a certain extent, his opinion obtained the concurrence of Lord Grenville.

Now, Sir, what was the result of the course pursued by Mr. Wilberforce and the Government, in 1816. The Assembly of Jamaica were invited by the Government, in a conciliatory and respectful message sent to the House by the Duke of Manchester, to bestow their attention on the expediency of establishing a registry of slaves in the colony. The Duke of Manchester, in that message, represented the proposal as a discreet and conciliatory course which the Government of that day had adopted ; that they had instructed him to communicate to the House the strong desire entertained by both Houses of Parliament, that such a measure should be adopted ; that the Government had prevented its being proceeded with by the Imperial Parliament, in the confident expectation that if a liberal and frank appeal were made to the Assembly, they would render any further discussion of it in England unnecessary. The House of Assembly met the conciliatory conduct of the Government just as they will always meet the conciliatory conduct of any Government. They immediately proceeded to pass a Bill establishing a registry in the

colony, and directing that the returns to be made to it should be sent to England. The Assembly thus completely carried into effect the views of Mr. Wilberforce, as recommended by the Government. What followed ? When the Assembly met in the succeeding year, the Duke of Manchester, in his speech, acquainted the House, that “ the Prince Regent has been pleased to express his entire approbation of the measures which you adopted during the last session, for preventing any evasion of the laws relating to the abolition of the slave trade, and for improving the comforts of the negro population, his Royal Highness not only regarding them as containing provisions highly important in themselves, but as manifesting a system of liberality and justice most creditable to the colony ; and, I assure you, it affords me particular gratification to see those proceedings which I know to have originated in the best and most considerate motives so justly appreciated by his Majesty’s Government.”

Now, Sir, let me draw the attention of the House to the parliamentary legislation connected with the registration of slaves. There being established in the colony by Acts of its own legislature, a registry of slaves, and the returns made to that registry being required by it to be transmitted to this country, the Imperial Parliament, in 1819, passed an Act to establish a registry in this country to receive those returns, and to appoint a registrar. That Act contains a most important provision, important in every respect, but more especially so, as marking and illustrating the distinction between legislating for subjects or persons within Great Britain, and for that reason the peculiar and appropriate subject of legislation by the Imperial Parliament, and subjects or persons in the colony, and for that reason the peculiar and appropriate subject of internal legislation by the colony.

It will be in the recollection of the House, that one of the provisions of that Act prevents any deed or instrument from transferring or creating any interest in, or charge on slaves, unless the deed contain, in the body of it, or in a schedule annexed to it, the names and descriptions of the slaves, the subject of the deed, as they are given in the last registry returns deposited in the office in this country. Now I beg the House to mark the caution with which the Act proceeds to limit its operation. It does not require that *all deeds* conveying or charging should contain this schedule or description, but *those deeds only which are executed in the United Kingdom*. It is wholly silent as to deeds executed in any of the colonies, or in any other part of the world. Thus, whilst the deed, if it were executed in England, would be utterly void unless it contained a description of the slaves; yet if executed in the colony it would be valid without that description. That Act is the 59th George III., cap. 120, intituled, "An Act for establishing a Registry of Colonial Slaves in Great Britain, and for making further Provision with respect to the Removal of Slaves from British Colonies." The ninth section enacts, "That from and after the first day of January 1820, no deed or instrument *made or executed within this United Kingdom*, whereby any slave or slaves in any of the said colonies shall be intended to be mortgaged, sold, charged or in any manner transferred or conveyed, or any estate or interest therein created or raised, shall be good or valid in law to pass or convey, charge or affect any such slave or slaves, unless the registered name and description, or names and descriptions, of such slave or slaves shall be duly set forth in such deed or instrument, or in some schedule thereupon indorsed or thereto annexed." I refer to this Act, and to the whole proceeding connected with the establishment of the registry, not only with the view of contrasting the motives and principles which

influenced the Government of that day on the subject of internal legislation, and their conduct towards the colonial legislature, with the conduct which the present Government have adopted ; but of enabling the House to perceive that when the sense of the Government by Parliament is expressed in favour of any subject of legislation, and is communicated to the legislature of the colony in a manner which does not outrage the feelings of her people, you will not fail to accomplish your object. It will be effected without invading their constitution, and without giving them any ground of complaint.

Sir, I consider that both upon principle and certainly in practice, it belongs to the legislature of the colony to legislate on all matters which affect solely and exclusively persons or property within the limits of the colony. These are the legitimate constitutional subjects of internal legislation : the supreme superintending authority of the Imperial Parliament is exercised in respect of subjects which from their very nature are not of this *limited and exclusive character*.

Sir, I know not a single instance since the 18th of George III, cap. 12, of an Act of internal legislation by the Imperial Parliament affecting persons and property solely and exclusively within the limits of the colony. I could show that two or three Acts of the British Parliament prior to the 18th of George III., (and there are not more than two or three) which upon the face of them might seem to import internal legislation, might be supported on principles and grounds peculiar to themselves, and which would leave untouched that proposition I have stated, that the legislation by the Imperial Parliament has not been extended when the persons and property to be affected by it were solely and exclusively in the colony. The abolition of the slave trade took place by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, on the ground stated by Mr. Pitt. It was a subject of trade. Its abolition was beyond the reach of the legislature of

any colony. It could only be abolished by the Imperial Parliament.

The abolition of slavery in 1833 was a matter of compact between the Parliament of this country and the persons who were possessed of slaves, the one giving and the other receiving a consideration for their property, and receiving it under the authority and by virtue of the Act which abolished slavery. But even here the legislation of the Imperial Parliament was interposed no farther than was necessary to secure the performance of this compact. There was a sound, wise, constitutional desire evinced by the Colonial Minister of that day to leave to the colonial legislature all its powers and functions. He left the great details of that measure to be filled up by the enactments of the colonial legislature. In fact he left in the colonial legislature the power to make the abolition of slavery their *own* act. The abolition of slavery stands as the act of the Jamaica legislature passed by itself.

Sir, upon that occasion, a desire was evinced by the Government to respect the rights and privileges, and to conciliate the feelings of the people of Jamaica. It is an act of justice to the noble Lord by whom that great measure was introduced into the House of Commons, that I should mention a particular proof of that disposition. Sir, it happened that in the first draft of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, the 21st clause contained a provision which was directly at variance with that part of the proclamation of Charles the Second, which gave to the Acts of the Jamaica legislature full force and effect, the moment they had received the assent of the three branches of the colonial legislature, and left them only to be invalidated by the express disallowance of the Crown. It was the right of the people of Jamaica, under the declaration of Charles the Second, that the Acts of their legislature should be in full force when they were passed, and that their operation should not be sus-

pendent until the King's assent was given. This is a right peculiar to the constitution of Jamaica. It does not exist in the other colonies. Sir, the 21st clause in the draft of the original Slavery Abolition Act was inconsistent with this right, as the House will perceive, when I read that clause. It was in these words: "That no Act which may be passed, and that no ordinance which may be made for the several purposes aforesaid, or any of them, by any such Governor, Council and Assembly, or other colonial legislature as aforesaid, shall be of any validity, force or effect, *unless the same shall contain a provision for suspending the operation thereof in any such colony until His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall have been signified.*" Sir, the moment I pointed out to the noble Lord that this clause interfered with that established right of the Jamaica legislature, that its laws should have full operation without any suspending clause, the noble Lord struck the clause out of the Bill, and it is not to be found in the Act as it was subsequently passed. Here is the true principle on which the executive government of colonies should be administered. Create no cause for disputes and differences; remove them where they exist, and adopt conciliation in fact as well as in tone and language; and accomplish your object by open and generous confidence.

Sir, in 1837, in consequence, I believe, of Lord Sligo the then Governor of Jamaica having committed a breach of the privileges of the House, for which Her Majesty's Government required him to make reparation, and which reparation he subsequently did make, an Act of the Jamaica legislature, in aid of the Slavery Abolition Act, had expired. It was revived and continued until 1840, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, introduced into this House by the present Judge-Advocate. Upon that occasion, even in relation to the apprenticeship, and the subject-matter of the Slavery Abolition Act, the Govern-

ment pursued a course very different from that which they adopted in the instance of the Prisons Act, although *then* there was no longer any apprenticeship. They did not bring in a Bill to enact that this expired Act should forthwith, and by force and authority of the Act of the Imperial Parliament, be revived and continued, whether the colonial legislature did or did not pass an Act? No. The Act to which I refer, the 6th and 7th William IV. cap. 16, contains a proviso that the Act of the colonial legislature should be revived by authority of that Act, unless, before the time mentioned, some Act or Acts "shall have been passed by the Council and Assembly of the said island, in substitution for this present Act, and shall have been assented to by the Governor." Now, Sir, by this mode the colonial legislature was afforded an opportunity of passing the Act of its own authority. At this time there was a desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government, not to create irritation on the part of the colony, but to obtain their object by means of the colonial legislature, and without interfering with the rights of legislation possessed by the colony.

Sir, the Act which immediately follows in this volume (the 6th and 7th William IV. cap. 17,) affords another illustration of the sound principles on which legislation by the Imperial Parliament in relation to the colonies ought to be interposed, and a just recognition of the right of internal legislation enjoyed by the colonies. It was an object, and a very salutary object, of Her Majesty's Government, to make provision for the better administration of justice in certain of the West India Colonies. This Act of the sixth and seventh of William IV., cap. 17, was passed. I beg the attention of the House to the preamble, which states the reason of, and the necessity for, the interposition of Parliament: "Whereas certain Acts or statutes have heretofore been passed and enacted by the legislative councils and general assemblies of His

Majesty's islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, Antigua, Montserrat, Saint Christopher, Nevis, Dominica and the Virgin Islands, in the West Indies, for erecting therein certain superior courts of justice; and by such Acts of Assembly, or some of them, the said courts are invested with an exclusive jurisdiction over all persons within the said islands respectively, and in all causes, civil and criminal, arising within the same; and such Acts having been assented to, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty's royal predecessors, by the Governors or by the officers administering the governments of the said islands, were subsequently allowed and confirmed by His Majesty's said royal predecessors, with the advice of their Privy Council:" "And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the better administration of justice throughout the several islands aforesaid, and for that purpose to erect two courts of judicature within the same, and to commit to such courts a superior and exclusive civil and criminal jurisdiction, to be exercised by them *throughout several of such islands, constituting distinct and separate governments, and possessing distinct and separate general assemblies:*" And whereas *by reason of the separation of the governments of the said several islands, and of the general assemblies thereof, such courts of judicature cannot be erected without having recourse to the assistance and authority of Parliament:*" Unquestionably not; you could not, by an Act passed in Antigua, constitute a court for the people of Montserrat. But the people of Montserrat were interested in and were to have the benefit of, and be subject to the jurisdiction of the court established by this Act. Again, there were laws in each of these colonies with which this Act would be at variance. It would not have been competent for the legislature of Antigua to have repealed a law passed by the legislature of Montserrat.

The court which was to exercise jurisdiction in these several colonies obviously could not be created by the

authority of their legislatures. It could therefore from necessity be created by no authority less than that of the Imperial Parliament. Upon this ground, and upon this ground only, and which the preamble avows, is this Act passed. The same respect for the rights of the legislatures of the colonies is evinced in the 22d section, which contains this express proviso, "That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to repeal, annul, alter or affect any Acts, statutes, laws or lawful customs, or usages in force within the said islands or governments, or directly or indirectly to introduce or establish within such islands or governments, or any of them, any Acts, statutes, laws or customs not now in force within the same, or to alter the rules of practice or methods of proceeding in administering justice within such islands, or any of them, save and except only so far as relates to the courts in which, and the judges by whom justice is administered within the said islands and governments; and such rules of practice and method of proceedings shall continue to be in force, and to be established within the same, as fully and effectually to all intents and purposes as if this present Act had not been made."

Then comes another very important provision which even in the case which, as the preamble says, the measure could not be effected without the interposition of Parliament by reason of the separate legislatures and separate governments of those colonies, evinces the same anxiety not to interfere with the internal legislation by the colony, if it could be avoided. The 24th section enacts, "That this present Act shall not come into operation, and shall not be binding or in force upon his Majesty's subjects or other persons residing and being within the said islands and governments; and that such letters patent or charters as aforesaid shall not be made or issued" (those were the letters patent for creating those new courts), "unless the legislative councils and general assemblies of the said several islands or governments shall by some Acts of

Assembly to be by them for that purpose first made and enacted, have provided that all and every the Acts, laws, statutes, customs and usages in force within the said islands and governments, in so far as the same might or could in anywise obstruct or interfere with the operation within such islands or governments of this present Act, and of the said charters or letters patent, shall be absolutely repealed or annulled, nor unless such repeal shall be made to take effect immediately upon the promulgation of such charters or letters patent within the said islands or governments, nor unless such Acts of Assembly shall be assented to in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty by the Governors or the officers administering the government of the said islands or governments, and shall be confirmed and allowed by His Majesty, with the advice of His Privy Council."

Sir, I have here an uniform series of legislative proceedings on the part of this country, avoiding, and anxiously avoiding, all interference with the internal legislation of the colony. I have the conduct of the Government on various occasions evincing an anxiety, even with respect to the most important objects, not to accomplish those objects, except through the intervention of the colonial legislatures. And now I ask the Government on what ground or pretext they depart from that course of legislation, by introducing into Parliament the "Act for the better Government of Prisons in the West Indies" (1 & 2 Vict., c. 67), that Act which, as the House will have perceived from the resolutions of the Assembly, was regarded by them as an interference with their right of internal legislation.

Sir, no one can deny but that its enactments are exclusively matters of internal legislation, applying solely and exclusively to persons and subjects in the colony. It is said in Lord Glenelg's circular despatch of the 13th of August 1838, as an excuse for this interposition, that it was a measure relating to all the

colonies, because it was desirable to adopt one uniform system of prison discipline and arrangement. I confess, Sir, when I read that statement I felt myself perfectly incompetent to understand how any one could have ventured to make it. Uniformity of discipline and arrangements in the creation, erection, superintendence and regulations of the gaols in the twenty-two colonies in the West Indies, differing not only in laws and habits, but in extent of population and territory ! What had the people in Barbadoes in common with the people in Jamaica or Montserrat as to their prisons ? How could any man conceive that there was any thing in this statement approaching to a reason for the interposition of Parliament ? I can understand in the case of the West India Judicature Act (6 & 7 William IV.) how the interposition of Parliament was indispensably necessary, because the legislature of no one colony could effect that which the Act effected. But the legislature of each colony can pass a law for regulating its own gaols.

The regulations which may be adapted to one colony may not be adapted to another. Is it really supposed that prison regulations proper for Jamaica will be suitable for a gaol in Tortola, a small island over the whole of which one may ride in an hour and a half ? And yet we are told that this interposition of the Imperial Parliament was called for by the circumstance that there are prisons in all the twenty-two West India islands, and that it was desirable that they should have an uniformity of discipline and arrangement. Why, Sir, it is impossible to deal seriously with so absurd a reason.

Now, Sir, I humbly ask the House to bear with me while I present to their attention some of the extraordinary circumstances which accompanied the introduction of this Prisons Act into Parliament. Its enactments consist of little more than clauses empowering the Governor in Council to appoint in-

spectors, and make regulations subjecting persons to penalties who should obstruct the inspectors in their examination of the gaols.

Sir, this measure was introduced into the House of Lords on the 16th of July 1838, the very day after the packet arrived, bringing intelligence to Her Majesty's Government from Sir Lionel Smith (his despatch being dated the 7th of June), that the Assembly of Jamaica had resolved on relinquishing the remaining two years of the apprenticeship—a resolution which they had no alternative but to adopt, after the language with which the Governor addressed them, authorized, as he must have been, so to address them by Her Majesty's Government—I say authorized by Her Majesty's Government, because it is quite impossible that any Governor would have incurred the heavy responsibility of calling upon the Assembly to put an end to the apprenticeship at once, if he had not the full sanction of the Government for that course. You have then, Sir, the fact that Lord Glenelg was apprised on the 16th of July that the House of Assembly had determined to abolish at once the apprenticeship, yet it is on that day that Lord Glenelg places on the table of the House of Lords the Report of Captain Pringle, and introduces and reads for the first time the Bill “for the better Government of Prisons in the West Indies.”

Sir, if it be prudent as well as just to conciliate the people of a colony, and by conciliation and confidence to promote their cordial co-operation in such measures as the Government may consider necessary, it would be as much the interest as the duty of the Colonial Secretary to communicate to him who, from his office and connection with the colony, might be supposed to be acquainted with the feelings of the people, those measures which he contemplated.

Sir, I heard (and I wish to state it here), of that Prisons Bill, by mere accident, the day after it had

been read a first time. As soon as I could obtain a copy of it, I saw at once the inevitable consequences which would result, if Her Majesty's Government persisted in carrying it through Parliament. I immediately addressed myself to the Colonial Secretary. I claimed from Her Majesty's Government the confidence in the Assembly which they merited by their relinquishment of the apprenticeship. I claimed confidence in the spirit of the future legislation by the Assembly, now that all the anomalies and difficulties incident to legislation in the states of slavery and apprenticeship no longer existed. I asked the Government, as an act of justice, now that the apprenticeship had been abolished, and the whole population were free persons, to give the Assembly credit for a spirit of perfect fairness to every class of persons there. I called upon the Government, therefore, to pause before they proceeded in that measure. Sir, I considered it my duty to address to Her Majesty's Government a distinct and formal protest against that measure. I did so, because I was convinced that the Assembly would regard it as a wanton and unnecessary interference with their right of internal legislation, as evincing a total want of confidence in them; that they would regard it as the means by which the Government desired to goad them into some act which might be made use of to inflict further wrongs. I forewarned the Government that it would lead to the collision which has, in fact, taken place. I entreated the noble Lord at the head of the Government to pause. I told him that if I had not been perfectly convinced that the measure was entirely repugnant to the principles upon which Parliament had up to that time been proceeding, and that it must and would be so considered by the people of Jamaica, nothing should have induced me to enter my protest against that Bill. I knew some weight would, in Jamaica, be attached to the opinion it expressed. I felt how important it was to the interests of Jamaica, that there

should be an end of collision between the Government and the Assembly of Jamaica. I felt how much the future welfare, the disposition, and the industrious and social habits of the emancipated population would be affected by the continuance of that collision, and by the passions and feelings it would excite. I was certain that the Assembly of Jamaica would feel, as I think they were entitled to feel, that the introduction of this measure, by Her Majesty's Government, was an act of harsh, unmerited wrong.

Sir, as a return for sacrificing that which Parliament had solemnly pledged the faith of the nation the people of Jamaica should retain for two years longer—a sacrifice which they made at the instigation of the Governor, an instigation which the Governor never could have made upon his own responsibility, but which must have been made under the sanction and authority of the Government, that Government introduced, and passed an Act interfering with their right of internal legislation, in a way which never took place before, of which I defy any lawyer, be his research what it may, to produce, from the Statute Book, a similar instance. Sir, such was the return the people of Jamaica received for relinquishing that interest for the preservation of which Her Majesty's Government claimed credit, although their own representative in the colony was telling the people, “It is true, Parliament has not abolished the apprenticeship, but you cannot continue it; you, yourselves, must put an end to it, for I tell you, from my experience, that it is *physically impossible* for me to maintain the peace of Jamaica, unless the apprenticeship be put an end to.” It was not the House of Assembly in Jamaica who put an end to the apprenticeship; the apprenticeship was abolished when the representative of Her Majesty's Government held that language. It was not the Assembly, but it was the Governor of Jamaica, acting upon the feelings and upon the influences which belong to the state of society there, who

did that which the Government could not do here ; because, as long as there is in Great Britain a respect for the faith to which the nation is pledged, they could not have lent themselves to such an Act.

Sir, the Prisons Bill was pressed through the House of Lords with a degree of celerity, which truly, if that Bill had been a just Bill, if it had been called for by the most urgent, overwhelming necessity, would excite astonishment. Sir, is it a matter of every day occurrence to legislate for the internal government of your colonies ? Is such interposition of so frequent occurrence that the Secretary of State may introduce into Parliament a Bill of exclusively internal legislation, without saying one word in explanation or justification ? With no precedent to justify it, with no explanation, is this Bill, at the close of the Sessions, hurried through the House of Lords. It was read a second time before my protest could be laid upon the table of the House ; but that protest was certainly under the notice of that House before the Bill was read there a third time. The Bill, Sir, then came here. It passed rapidly through this House. Here also was my protest. I am not aware that any explanation was given of the cause of this Bill or even of the provisions it contained. I can understand a British House of Commons, so far confiding in the responsible servant of the Crown, that when he came forward with a measure which he was passing as a mere matter of course through Parliament, it was one which was not unprecedented in principle, or in its enactments, which involved no probable or possible collision between the Government and the colonial legislature, and that it would not produce those consequences of which I had distinctly apprized the Government.

Sir, I must say, with great deference, that it was due to this House and to the other House of Parliament, that it should have been stated that objections to this measure were entertained, and that there

were certain consequences predicted as likely to result from it. The opportunity should have been afforded to Parliament by Her Majesty's Government, of deciding whether, under all the circumstances, and at such a crisis, it would pass this Bill, or whether it would not afford to the legislature of Jamaica an opportunity of passing equally salutary enactments, if it had not already passed them, as I will presently show the Assembly had, as long since as 1834, and which are embodied in an Act of its own; an Act, considered by the Marquis of Sligo (no eulogist of the Assembly) to contain enactments most salutary and beneficial—so salutary and beneficial as to have been adopted by the Governor in Council, under the authority of this very Prisons Act. Yes, Sir, the very regulations, made under this Prisons Act, had been already enacted by the Jamaica legislature in 1834, for the government of their prisons. Sir, that Act also constituted the local magistrates as visitors. It will not be said, "Oh! those were local magistrates; we do not trust local magistrates." Sir, it is perfectly well known that the special or stipendiary magistrates also hold commissions as local magistrates. Now, the very persons whom the Governor has appointed inspectors under the Prisons Act, had the same powers of inspection under the Jamaica Act of 1834.

Now, Sir, although this Prisons Act is treated on the part of the Government so much as a matter of course, that no cause whatever is alleged in either House of Parliament for its introduction, yet one hears it insinuated, rather than stated, that there had been a want of attention on the part of the Jamaica legislature to the subject of prisons and prison discipline. Now, Sir, I will show that there is not the least ground for this insinuation. I will show, that from the first communication which the Governor, Lord Belmore, made in 1829, to the close of the Session of 1838, the subject of prisons and prison dis-

cipline had been under the consideration of the Assembly of Jamaica; that the Assembly has passed no less than four Acts upon this subject—amongst others that Act which, as I have stated, was represented by Lord Sligo to be a most beneficial measure—that they have raised money to a considerable amount for the erection of prisons; and that every disposition was evinced, on the part of the Jamaica Assembly, to carry into effect the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of prisons, so far as they had not been already attained. I will show the House how far they had been attained by the Act passed in 1834.

Sir, I have stated that Lord Belmore sent a message to the House of Assembly, calling their attention to a scheme for prisons and prison discipline, which had been suggested by the Commissioners of Legal Inquiry, and an Act was passed which is to be found among the Jamaica laws of 1830.

In 1832 the Assembly sent this answer to a message of the then Governor (Lord Normanby): "We are ordered by the House to wait on your Excellency, and state, in reply to your Excellency's first message of the 16th November, that they have taken into their consideration your Excellency's suggestions respecting the classification of the persons in the Surrey gaol. The House have directed us to assure your Excellency that, anxiously impressed with a desire to improve the system of prison discipline throughout the island, they will at all times be ready to give their most favourable consideration to any measure calculated to promote an object of such vital moment to the well-being of society."

Sir, in 1833 the session was entirely devoted to the consideration of the measure for the abolition of slavery. In the speech of the noble lord, proroguing the Assembly, he, in language of the warmest approbation, anticipated the commendation which they afterwards received from the Sovereign for the adequate and satisfactory manner in which they had

passed the Act for the abolition of slavery. Jamaica was the first of all the colonies to take this step. She set a noble example to the other colonies. The value of this example was at that time appreciated and acknowledged by the Government.

In 1834, the Marquis of Sligo became the Governor. He met the Assembly on the 3d of June in that year. In his speech on that occasion, he called their attention to the subject of Prisons, and the Assembly gave him this answer: "Our attention shall also be directed to the insecure state of the gaols, to the means of raising a police force, and to the providing of places for the safe holding of persons undergoing that temporary confinement which, under the new Act, is likely to be resorted to as a mode of punishment." Sir, the Assembly redeemed that pledge. They passed the Act of 1834, to which I have referred, the enactments of which were not only unexceptionable, but on the contrary were, as I have already stated, so beneficial that they form almost the identical regulations adopted by the Governor in Council, under the Prisons Act of 1838. Besides those enactments, by the eighth clause it empowered "any justice of the peace, of his own free will and pleasure, without being appointed a visitor, to enter into and examine every prison, house of correction, hospital, or asylum of such parish for which he is a justice, at such time or times, or so often as he shall see fit;" and if he should discover any abuses, then the course which he is to take is pointed out.

Lord Sligo, in his speech in the succeeding session, referred to this Act. He said, "One of the most beneficial Acts of the last session, has, I regret to say, remained unnoticed in more than one instance. I allude to the Bill for the establishment of places of confinement, with tread-mills, in each parish." The Assembly, in their address, gave this answer. "The Act of the last session, authorizing the establishment of places of confinement, with tread-mills, is one

which we feel satisfied will prove beneficial, and the House are convinced that, to the pressure of the times, and the short period that has elapsed since the passing of the Act, is to be attributed the delay which may have taken place in some of the parishes in carrying its provisions into effect." The Governor, in his reply, says, "With regard to the erection of places of confinement, with tread-mills, I have merely to say, you have, in your wisdom, deemed that they were necessary, in which I fully concur. That the expense may be inconvenient to some of the parishes, I feel with much regret. The motive which induces me to press the matter on you, is the consideration that more injury will be done to the essential interests of the parishes by the want of this salutary, and I may add, necessary mode for enforcing labour, and maintenance of good order, than by the expenses of their erection."

Sir, this appeal to the Assembly was not made in vain. Notwithstanding the pressure of the times, and the heavy expenditure which this measure required, the Assembly complied with the Governor's recommendation, by passing an Act for the express purpose of providing, from the public funds of the island, in addition to the sum to be given by each parish, the sum of 42,000*l*. The fifth of William IV. cap. 21, enacts, "That the Receiver-general do pay to the common council of the city of Kingston, and to the justices and vestry of such other parishes as shall apply for such aid a sum of money not exceeding two thousand pounds for each parish, as a loan, bearing interest at the rate of six pounds per centum per annum. This sum amounted to 42,000*l*., there being twenty-one parishes." In addition to this grant, each parish under the powers which the parochial vestries possessed, raised a considerable sum for the same purpose. Thus far we have not any complaint, but the commendation of the Assembly by the Marquis of Sligo.

Sir, on the 7th of November 1835, the Governor sent a message to the Assembly on the subject of Prisons, and a Report was made by the House on the 9th, recommending a Bill to be brought in. On the 18th, the usual adjournment of the House took place, and on the 26th January 1836, the House re-assembled, and upon that occasion there was a message from the Governor, together with a despatch of Lord Glenelg, and an Act of the Imperial Parliament respecting Prisons in England and Wales, laid before the House. Before any proceedings could be taken thereon, the session was abruptly terminated by an interference by the Marquis of Sligo with the legitimate privileges of the House of Assembly. On the 24th of May, the House re-assembled, his Lordship having received instructions from the Government here to make reparation to the House for that interference. But in that session not a single communication was made by Lord Sligo to the House of Assembly on the *subject of prisons* or prison discipline; nor was any requisition made for any legislation on either of those subjects.

Sir, it had come to the knowledge of some of the members of the Assembly that the Marquis of Sligo had either transmitted to the Government, or otherwise circulated, some stories of maltreatment alleged to have taken place in one or more of the gaols. Lord Sligo had not himself, by any communication, brought them under the cognizance of the Assembly, or afforded that body any opportunity of investigating their truth. And here I would beg the House to understand and bear in recollection, when you hear statements read from those West India papers which were laid upon the table of the House, what those papers are. They consist of such despatches or *parts of despatches*, passing between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor, as it pleases the Colonial Office to select. Neither the Assembly, nor any of the people in the colony upon

whom those despatches bear, and of whom the Governor may make the most cruel and unjust charges, have had any previous opportunity of hearing or giving an answer to those charges. The Governor may make whatever *ex-parte* statements he pleases ; he may say as much in condemnation, and as little in approbation or vindication, of the Assembly, or of individuals, as suits his good or bad feeling towards them. It is extraordinary, and certainly not indicative of a desire to do *justice and act with fairness*, that in these papers you do not find the answers which were given by the Governor to the Assembly in which he commends their proceedings, or the answers of the Assembly to messages of the Governor which evince an anxiety to comply with his wishes, or those acts of the Assembly which have taken place in conformity with such answers. None of these do you find amongst the West India papers which are laid upon the table of this House.

Sir, I beg leave to state, that if there be one inference, or one conclusion which any honourable member would draw from these papers to the prejudice of the Assembly, or the people of Jamaica, it is an inference and a conclusion drawn from *ex-parte* statements, of which the Assembly or people in Jamaica know nothing until months and months afterwards, when the book containing these papers is transmitted to them. Then, for the first time, they see in them libels of the most cruel nature, which have been circulating under the authority of the Government. An unjust, and cruel and unfounded impression is made upon the public mind ; and what is said in refutation of these calumnies can have little or no effect in removing that impression.

Sir, the Assembly having heard of these stories which Lord Sligo had circulated, they addressed him on the 3d of June a message, requesting him to communicate to them such cases of maltreatment as had come to his knowledge. They received an answer to

this message on the 9th of June. They inquired into the cases referred to in that answer. They made their report on the 14th of June, and gave the result of their examination. As a specimen of the inaccuracy and injustice of these stories, I will select two of the cases examined in that Report. With respect to one, the party who had committed the offence was tried at the Cornwall Assizes, and convicted by the verdict of a jury without the slightest hesitation. The other was alleged to be a case of a bill sent into the grand jury against a person charged with the maltreatment, and ignored. One of the grand jurors who was upon the committee, by whom the report was made, stated, that no such bill was ever brought before the grand jury. Persons taking heated and intemperate views do not always weigh with sufficient precision the import of the statements they make. They may not intend to misrepresent, but they do in fact misrepresent. To this unhappy failing I must attribute much which is to be found in the Marquis of Sligo's despatches.

Sir, in 1836 the Marquis of Sligo ceased to be Governor. He was succeeded by Sir Lionel Smith, the present Governor. Sir L. Smith sent, on the 21st of February 1837, a message to the House of Assembly. They gave an answer to it. And, Sir, I here repeat, that if there were a full and fair representation made in the selection of the West India papers of all that passed in the Jamaica Assembly, I should not be under the necessity of referring to the votes of the House of Assembly, but that which I am about to read from those votes, I ought to have found in the book of West India papers, on the table of the House. The answer sent to Sir Lionel Smith on the 2d of March, is in these words: "If the House were at all cognizant of the existence of abuses in the gaols and houses of correction, which require legislative interference, they would most readily go into a revision of the laws which regulate those establishments; but,

without such facts before them, impressed as they are with the belief, that the Marquis of Sligo was much misled ; that the representations put forward by him of workhouse punishments, were greatly exaggerated, and that the existing laws, if duly enforced, and fairly acted upon, are sufficient to prevent abuses, the House deem it unnecessary to deal with the subject at present, particularly as the session is so near a close. The House beg to assure his Excellency, that if any abuses in the gaols or houses of correction, of a character requiring legislative interposition, shall come to his Excellency's knowledge, the House, at their next meeting, will be ready, on having the facts laid before them, to apply the necessary remedy."

Now, Sir, to ascertain whether there was any want of due attention ; whether there was any want of *bona fides* in the House of Assembly, I would refer the House to the impression which Sir Lionel Smith, who had then been Governor for twelve months, entertained of their conduct and motives ; that impression is conveyed in the speech with which he prorogued the Assembly on the 4th of March 1837. I beg the House to retain the recollection of this speech, that when it is contrasted with the subsequent expression of unfavourable sentiments, the House may try to discover, what can not be discovered, that any thing had occurred in the conduct of the Assembly to justify a total change of his opinion. The speech on proroguing the House, on the 4th March 1837, is this : " I have given my assent to such Bills as have reached me, with the exception of that for regulating the practice of physic and surgery, which Bill is not free from those objections which led to His Majesty's disallowance of a similar enactment ; I acknowledge with great pleasure the ready attention you have bestowed on all my communications ; and the adoption of the suggestion for classing the apprenticed population under legal enactment will, I trust, fully provide for the contemplated emergency. In bearing my testimony

to the zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the public business, I cannot omit expressing the gratification I have experienced at the good understanding which has been apparent in all your proceedings during a session of unusual duration. I attach the greatest importance to the continuance of this feeling, which it will be the constant endeavour of my administration to promote."

Sir, in October 1837, the Assembly again met, and on the 27th of that month, the Governor sent this message to the House: "I have his Excellency the Governor's commands to lay before this Honourable House the accompanying despatch, communicating the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the introduction into this island of an improved system of prison discipline. Returns connected with this subject have been called for from the different parishes *which when prepared and condensed will be duly submitted to the House.*" In passing, I will take leave to say, that I do not know whether those returns have ever been prepared and condensed, but this I know, that nowhere does it appear that any such returns were ever communicated to the House of Assembly. This message was accompanied by Lord Glenelg's despatch; and I put it to the House, whether any one in reading this message, even without the despatch to which it refers, could arrive at any other conclusion than that all the communications which were made on the part of the Governor were communications having in view the *preparation and consideration* of plans rather than the *adoption of any specific plans*. That, I say, is the legitimate and fair conclusion to be drawn from this message of the Governor, if it stood alone; but the despatch of Lord Glenelg contains this paragraph, which renders it impossible to form any other conclusion: "The present Act will expire in the year 1840, and at that period, if not before, it will devolve upon you to give your most serious consideration to the improvements which may be introduced into it."

Now, Sir, it seems to have been supposed by some that the Jamaica Act, which was to expire in 1840, was an Act, the duration of which was limited to the duration of the apprenticeship, and that it would expire in 1840, because the apprenticeship expired in 1840; and the inference attempted to be drawn from hence was, that as the apprenticeship was terminated in 1838 by the legislature, there was no Prison Act for apprentices. But such is not the case. The Act certainly expires on the 31st of December 1840, not because the apprenticeship would expire in August 1840, but because the 31st December 1840 was the period when this and several other Acts not perpetual would expire. The Jamaica Prison Act, to which Lord Glenelg refers, is the Act of 1834, and it applies to all persons, without any distinction whether they are apprentices or not. It cannot, for one moment, be pretended as a ground for the precipitate parliamentary interposition by passing the Prisons Act, that the Jamaica Act expired the moment Sir L. Smith put an end to the apprenticeship in 1838.

This message and Lord Glenelg's despatch, and other regulations which, during the Session of October 1837, had been communicated by the Governor to the House of Assembly, were referred to a committee appointed by the House. That committee consisted of several members whose views were of the most liberal character. Some had originally in the year 1833 been of opinion, that there ought to be no apprenticeship at all, and, in 1836, had called upon the House of Assembly, by a vote, to put an end to the apprenticeship, at an early period. Mr. Jordan, a gentleman of colour, of high honour and respectability, and possessed of very considerable talents, was the chairman of this committee. No one can doubt the honesty and sincerity of purpose, and the zeal with which this committee would and did apply is attention to the subject.

I have now to state to the House, that in the latter

end of November, Captain Pringle arrived in Jamaica. It would appear from the date of his instructions, that he left England either by the first or middle packet, in October and he would arrive in Jamaica in the middle or end of November. I am anxious that the House should be aware of the time when this gentleman arrived, and when he left Jamaica, because this ex-commissioner, like a certain ex-governor of Jamaica, has put forth a pamphlet containing observations and opinions which could only be the result of considerable experience; and during the short interval between his arrival in November, and his departure on the 3d of February, he could not, in a large island like Jamaica, have acquired that experience.

Now, Sir, one object of Captain Pringle's commission was to obtain accurate information of the state of the prisons, and to suggest the plans for their enlargement and improvement, and for the regulation of the prisoners in those prisons. The Assembly being apprised of this commission, could not suppose themselves required to legislate, nor could they effectually legislate on this subject, in the manner desired by Her Majesty's Government, until Captain Pringle had made his examination and report upon prisons; and until that report and his plans and suggestions had been communicated to them. In the succeeding month of February (1838), when the House re-assembled, although they very properly continued the committee appointed in the preceding session, and referred further communications to that committee, yet up to the month of March following, when the House was prorogued, no intimation was given to them by the Governor of any plans of prisons or suggestions formed by Captain Pringle. Not even a scrap of paper was laid before the House in the shape of an abstract or epitome of any thing Captain Pringle might have told the Governor on the subject of his plans or views. The Assembly was prorogued in the month of March 1838.

Although the usual period when the Assembly is convened is the end of October, (the meetings in February and March being the continuation of the October sessions), yet the Governor, for the purpose of passing an Act to abolish the apprenticeship, specially convened a session in June, and, as the representative of the Government, by declaring to the Assembly that it was *physically impossible* to maintain the apprenticeship, did in fact abolish the apprenticeship. Sir, when the Assembly had passed the Act abolishing the apprenticeship, they were immediately prorogued; and so far from the Governor requiring them to take cognizance of any measures consequent upon the apprenticeship abolition, he says he rejoices that he is enabled to grant them a recess, because he is satisfied that it is of the greatest importance that they should return to their own houses for the purpose of being present at the time when that great change should commence in the condition of the labouring population.

Here then, Sir, we have the Governor in March, 1837, giving credit to the Assembly for the good understanding which had subsisted, and for the ready attention they had paid to all his suggestions. We have, in November 1837, Captain Pringle's arrival in the colony, telling persons it would be folly, and an extravagant waste of the public money to commence, or continue the erection which had been already commenced, of public gaols, until his plans had been communicated. In page 11 of his report: he says, "The houses of correction at St. Ann's, Vere, Savanna-la-Mer, and Montego Bay, are not fit for prisons; the two latter have indeed been condemned, and funds voted by the vestry for new buildings. The plans for intended prisons at these two places were shown to me, and as my opinion was desired I suggested postponing the expenditure of so much money until the plans approved for the construction of new prisons in England could be forwarded, or until some general system was adopted."

Sir, I will here refer to another part of Captain Pringle's report, which ought to defeat the attempt to impose upon the judgment of persons in this country, by representing that the rules for the regulation of gaols admitted of the perpetration of acts of cruelty. This is the language in which he speaks of these rules, "*The rules and regulations laid down in the Gaol Act are sufficiently good, if proper officers were appointed who would faithfully and zealously carry them into effect.*" I have already shown that under the Prison Act which was passed in 1834, the special magistrates, those very persons whom the Governor in Council in November last appointed inspectors, had all the powers which were required.

Sir, from this narrative it is quite clear that the Government cannot justify or excuse the introduction of the Prisons Bill into the House of Lords, on the pretext that the Assembly had refused to legislate on the subject of prisons and prison discipline. The Assembly had not refused to legislate on it. The Assembly had legislated, aye, and legislated so effectually and beneficially that the rules and regulations which they enacted were actually adopted by the Governor in Council, in execution of the authority vested in him by the Prisons Act, with variations so slight that, in fact, I may correctly say the regulations of the Act of the colonial legislature passed in 1834 are those at present in operation. There is one alteration, and certainly a singular one, because, without regard to the time of the year it makes the hours for closing the prisons seven o'clock, when it must be well known that for the greater portion of the year it is perfect darkness at that hour, though in the course of the summer there is twilight enough to say that it is not dark at seven o'clock. This, however, constitutes the only material variation. The very persons whom the Governor might have appointed under the Act of 1834, he has appointed under the powers with which

he is invested by the Act of the Imperial Parliament of 1838.

As little pretext is there for alleging that there was a *disinclination* on the part of the Assembly to bestow their attention on further legislation on this subject. That pretext is destroyed by the whole tenor of their proceedings. You have the Governor's acknowledgement in 1837 of their attention to his suggestion. Equally unjust and unfounded is the pretext that there was any want of good faith or zeal in the proceedings of the Assembly. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Jordan, in his place in the House of Assembly, in October last, indignant, as well he might be, at such an imputation, stated that he had in his possession the draft of an Act which would have given to the Governor the very power which the Governor would obtain under the Act of the Imperial Parliament; and he affirmed the anxiety, as well as the perfect good faith with which he had applied himself to give effect to the views of Her Majesty's Government. He stated that it had been his intention to bring forward a measure to the committee of which he was chairman, and so put an end to all further discussion.

Sir, the Government could not pretend that they had given the Assembly reason to suppose that they required at the time of the introduction of the Prisons Act any legislative measure. Their whole conduct, Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 31st May 1837, the messages of the Governor, Captain Pringle's mission, his representations in the colony, the Governor's prorogation, would all induce the Assembly to entertain a supposition directly the reverse.

The conduct of the Government in invoking the interposition of Parliament to pass the Prisons Act was a wanton act of aggression towards the colony—an unwarranted and unjustifiable interference with its constitutional right of internal legislation—the inevi-

table effect of which would be (and so they were told) to produce irritation and collision.

Now, Sir, I ask the House to look at the subsequent conduct of the Government, and see whether the least attempt was made to allay that irritation or prevent that collision.

Sir, with the full knowledge they had acquired from me of the effects which it would produce in Jamaica, you would suppose that a Government, desirous of counteracting those effects, of conciliating the Assembly, and indeed of procuring their co-operation in rendering the Act effective, by passing a law of their own legislature without which it would be perfectly waste paper, would have applied themselves (and there is no want of skilful and eloquent writing in the Colonial Office), in framing some despatch to the Governor of Jamaica, which he might have made the subject of a communication to the Assembly, and which might have presented topics of explanation or excuse, with the view of satisfying the Assembly, that there was no intention to interfere with the right of internal legislation, and of reconciling them to the passing of an Act to give effect to the Act which had been passed by the Imperial Parliament. No excuse can be made by the Government for neglecting to take this course. Their silence evinced a reckless disregard of the feelings of the House. It must have been so considered by the Assembly. The Assembly knew that the Government had been previously apprized of the impression and consequences which the Act would produce in Jamaica. No despatch is addressed to the Governor, but there is sent to him a circular despatch from Lord Glenelg, of the 13th of August 1838, addressed to the Governors of all the colonies, and among others to the Governor of Barbadoes. The latter colony had already a prison law similar to the Prisons Act. It will appear that the Governor of Barbadoes had called the attention of Lord Glenelg to the discontent excited in the colony by the

interposition of Parliament. To the Governor of Barbadoes there was sent a conciliatory despatch, which he could communicate to the Assembly of that colony, when he sent the circular despatch of the 13th of August, and the Prisons Act. But to the Governor of Jamaica, no despatch of a similar kind is addressed. Sir, it is scarcely possible to account for the conduct of the Government, but upon the supposition that they were desirous of goading the people of Jamaica to commit that very act which they now make the pretext for depriving them of their Assembly.

Sir, what follows? The circular despatch of the 13th of August arrives in the colony some time about the middle of September. Now this Act, the necessity for which it is pretended was so urgent as to justify an invasion of the constitutional rights of the colony, and to require to be passed with the utmost possible rapidity allowed by the rules of the Houses of Parliament, remains in the possession of the Governor until the 29th of November 1838, without any step being taken under it. No special session of the Assembly is convened. It is called together at the latest period in October, the 30th of that month.

Sir, I should have apprehended that with a measure of such pretended urgency, the Government would have directed Sir Lionel Smith to have convened the Assembly as soon as possible, for the purpose of laying before them that Act, accompanied with such explanations and such evidence of friendly disposition on the part of the Government as might have reconciled them to it, and have satisfied them that there was no intention to interfere with their right of internal legislation. But Sir Lionel Smith met the House, without making, in the speech with which he opened the session, the slightest allusion to the Prisons Act, although he must have been apprised by the Government, and he certainly knew from the protest and correspondence of the agent to which the Governor

has access, that it would be the means of exciting great irritation and dissatisfaction.

Sir, it has been said, I understand, that it has not been usual for Governors to make any communications to the Assemblies in their speeches on opening the session. Some Governors may certainly like short speeches, and may be unwilling that the speech should contain any debateable subject, and instead of introducing such subject into their speech, they send it down in a message to the House, the same day or the day after. The latter was the course adopted by the Duke of Manchester in 1816, when he called the attention of the Assembly to the Registry Bill. But so far from its being contrary to usage that the Governor should introduce such subjects into his speech on opening a session, I can show that the usage is the other way. I hold in my hand a list of instances, going back to a very remote period, in which some of the most important subjects were communicated to the House, solely and exclusively, in the speech by which the Governors opened the session. One of the most important occasions was in 1767, when the Governor had, by his misconduct, placed the Assembly in such a situation that they refused to grant the supplies. He dissolved them and drew upon the Treasury. He afterwards contended that the money which the Treasury had paid was to be repaid by the colony. They said, "No;—you must answer for your own wrongs—you violated our constitution—you had no authority to pledge the credit of the island." The House prevailed, and the Treasury abandoned the claim. But the communication from the Crown on this dispute formed the subject of the Governor's speech on opening the session. I have before me a long series of instances from 1816 to 1824, of various important measures emanating from the Government, and to which the attention of the Assembly was to be called, forming the subject of the Governors speeches. The Act establishing bishops, formed a topic in the Governor's

speech, and by that speech he called upon the colonial legislature to establish ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colony.

Sir, another important instance of a communication by the Governor, in his speech to the Assembly, was that respecting the duties and revenues of the island, and which was made the subject of communication by Sir John Kane, in his speech on opening the session of 1829. Again, Lord Belmore makes the subject of the Act which had passed for providing for the salaries of custom-house officers a part of his speech on opening the session of 1831. Without referring to numerous other examples, I will take that which is most apposite, and which is one of the greatest authority upon the present occasion — the speeches of Lord Normanby, as Governor of Jamaica. In 1832 his speech is almost entirely occupied with subjects entertained by the Government here, in which the Assembly would be called upon to afford their assistance; for instance, the committees of inquiry into the state of slavery, which had been appointed by both Houses of Parliament; the West India Relief Bill, granting a loan of a million of money for the different colonies; and in 1833, the most important measure which could be presented to the consideration of the Assembly, namely, the parliamentary proceedings for the abolition of slavery, formed the subject of his communication to them in his speech on opening the session of that year.

But, Sir, it is impossible that Sir Lionel Smith or the Government can, upon any such ground as that which has been assigned for their conduct, protect themselves from the charge of utterly rejecting the most common and the most obvious mode of putting the Assembly of Jamaica in a situation to deal with this question. If the Governor did not like to introduce the subject into his speech on the 30th of October, he had on the 31st an opportunity of making a communication to them. The House

assembled on the 2d of November, he might then have sent a message to them. They met again on the 3d, but on neither of those occasions did the Governor send them any communication alluding to the subject of the Prisons Act.

Of course the Governor took, and must have been considered by the Assembly to have taken, this step in consequence of instructions from the Government at home.

The striking contrast between the conduct of the Government and of Sir Evan Murray M'Gregor, (the Governor of Barbadoes) towards the Assembly of that colony was known in Jamaica, and could not fail to produce a strong impression. Sir Evan M'Gregor received as did Sir Lionel Smith, Lord Glenelg's circular despatch, with the Prisons Act, and Captain Pringle's report. What did he do when he received them? Did he content himself with sticking up the Act on the door of the House of Assembly of Barbadoes. No, Sir. The course adopted by Sir Evan M'Gregor was this; when he sent down to the Assembly of Barbadoes Lord Glenelg's despatch and Captain Pringle's report, he also sent them a *conciliatory* message.

Sir, I hold in my hand a Jamaica newspaper of the 3d December 1838, which contains the communication made by Sir Evan M'Gregor to the House of Assembly of Barbadoes. It exhibits conduct of so different a spirit and character from the conduct of Sir Lionel Smith on the same occasion, that supposing Sir Evan M'Gregor and Sir Lionel Smith each to have acted under the directions of the Government at home, there has been, with regard to Barbadoes, on the one hand, a disposition to conciliate and a desire to remove any apprehensions as to the interference of Parliament with their rights of internal legislation, but with regard to Jamaica, on the other, no similar authority has been given to the Governor to proceed in the same spirit towards the Assembly of that island.

Sir Lionel Smith must have acted under some restrictive instructions on this subject, for when he met the new House of Assembly, on the 18th of December, he had been previously aware, indeed ever since the third of that month, of the different course pursued by Sir E. M. M'Gregor towards the Assembly of Barbadoes. The newspaper I hold in my hand, of the 3d December, contains extracts from a conciliatory despatch by Lord Glenelg to Sir E. M. M'Gregor, to be communicated, and which was, by that gallant officer, communicated to the Barbadoes Assembly, by an equally conciliatory message from himself, as a suitable accompaniment to Lord Glenelg's circular despatch of the 13th of August, and the Prison Act. The spirit of conciliation thus evinced on the part of the Government and the Governor had its effect. It allayed the irritation and dissatisfaction of the people of Barbadoes. With this example before him Sir Lionel Smith might have learnt a lesson from a brother officer in the smaller colony of Barbadoes, which would have been most beneficial to the public service, and no less honourable to himself. I ask, Sir, would he not have followed this example if he had been at liberty by his instructions? The House of Assembly would naturally and justly have attributed his conduct to those instructions.

Well, Sir, the Assembly met on the 18th of December. No communication was made to them by the Governor, either in his Speech or in any message, with regard to the Prisons Act, and no step was taken on the part of the Government here, even when they must have been in possession of the fact that Sir Lionel Smith had dissolved the Assembly, to supply him with the means of making any communication to the Assembly when they should meet again after the subsequent prorogation. But, Sir, although the Government was put in possession, as they were on the 10th of December, of the course which had been taken by the Assembly, of the view entertained by them of the Prisons

Act, and of the Resolutions which they had adopted, yet is there not a single despatch to Sir Lionel Smith, instructing him how to act towards the Assembly at its next meeting.

Surely there was abundant opportunity to have placed in the hands of Sir Lionel Smith, a despatch from Her Majesty's Government which he might have communicated to the Assembly at their meeting, and which might have afforded them, after they had been apprised of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government, an opportunity of receding from the views which they had previously taken and of resuming their legislative functions.

Sir, the Governor first prorogued the Assembly from the 20th of December to the 5th of February, and subsequently to the 8th of March. To this hour, from any information furnished by the papers on the table of the House of Commons, he has received no instructions from the Government. The appeal made by the Assembly to their Sovereign remains unanswered.

Sir, I cannot think that this course can be reconciled with the duty which I take leave to say the relation of the parent state to the colony imposed on Her Majesty's Ministers. It is not a course calculated to secure the welfare of the colony, and to unite all classes in those feelings of attachment to the parent state, which it must be the object of every one to promote. If I had been asked to point out the course by which the Government could show a determination to trample upon the rights of the people of the colony—if I had been called upon to devise a scheme by which I could provoke the colony into acts which I might afterwards find it expedient to designate as acts of intemperance, and which I might make a pretext for saying, as the preamble of this Bill says, that the Assembly had suspended its legislative functions, and that I must, therefore, destroy the Assembly, I would have suggested the very course which has been pursued by Her Majesty's Ministers.

Sir, when the House looks at the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, and, I may say, their studied abstinence from taking any step to reconcile the Assembly to the Prisons Act, and at the situation to which the Assembly of Jamaica was necessarily reduced by that conduct, and at the Prisons Act, standing, as it does stand, without precedent, and an unexampled and unjustifiable interference with the right of the colony to internal legislation, I am persuaded that of all persons, those who compose this House are the last to visit upon the people of Jamaica the punishment of being deprived of their Assembly because that Assembly adopted a course which they considered essential for the maintenance of the very rights for which that assembly was created.

Sir, I do not feel that I am stating the ground which has been taken by the Assembly too strongly, when I say, that if it were possible to suppose that the executive government had adopted towards this House any similar conduct immediately affecting some of its dearest rights and some of its most valued privileges, that this House itself would not have hesitated to adopt the very same course which has been taken by the Assembly. Will then this House, because that course has been taken by the Assembly, proceed to the extremity which is required by the Government, and pronounce the Assembly to have committed a crime of so high a nature as to warrant the passing of this Bill of pains and penalties.

I do not believe it possible that this Bill can be sanctioned by the House, because I cannot believe it possible the House can ever renounce those constitutional principles which it is the most anxious to maintain, and in the maintenance of which it has always evinced the most uncompromising firmness. It must renounce them, if it punishes the Assembly of Jamaica for evincing the same anxiety and the same firmness in maintaining the same principles.

Sir, I beg again to remind the House that the

Assembly did not, as they might, avail themselves of the Constitutional right of withholding the supplies until their appeal had been answered. They would not embarrass the Government, or obstruct the public service. On the contrary, the Assembly expressed themselves ready to proceed with voting the supplies, by which the public servants or the public creditors of the colony might be paid. How is it that those supplies have not been raised? Because the Governor of the colony prorogued and afterwards dissolved the Assembly, on account of their having passed the resolutions to which I have adverted. Nothing, it would seem to me, would more completely evince the determination of the Government to create something like a pretext upon which it might come to this House and ask for the present measure, than the fact that its own Governor himself, by this dissolution and continued prorogation of the Assembly, before they had raised the supplies, deprived himself of the means of carrying on the Government, instead of affording the Assembly an opportunity of proceeding to legislate for the purpose of raising those supplies.

Sir, I should suppose it was considered that as it was a strong ground for the penal measure adopted towards Lower Canada, that its Assembly had stopped the supplies for five years, it would be as equally strong for this still more penal measure against Jamaica, that her Assembly had stopped the supplies for a few months, that is from the 31st December until Her Majesty's answer to the Appeal of the Assembly had been given.

But, Sir, that pretext does not exist here. The Assembly has not furnished the Government with that pretext. The Government cannot say that they are without supplies through any default of the Assembly. They must say that they are without supplies either through their own default, or through the default of their Governor. They are without supplies, because they wanted to have an additional pretext for

calling upon this House to take away the Assembly of Jamaica.

Now Sir, what, under these circumstances, is the effect of the resolutions which were adopted by the House of Assembly? The Assembly express their opinion upon the effect of the Prisons Act passed by the Imperial Parliament. And what further do they say? What conditions do they impose as the preamble of the Bill intimates? Sir, they impose no conditions. They say that they are ready to grant the supplies. They say, "We have sustained a wrong from Her Majesty's Ministers; they have invaded our rights, and we, therefore, make our appeal to our Sovereign, and we suspend our functions until we receive an answer to that appeal." Has any answer been given? Has there been any intimation on the part of the Crown to the Assembly of Jamaica, that they had taken an erroneous view of the conduct and motives of Her Majesty's Government? Any disclaimer of any intention to interfere with their rights? Any invitation to co-operate, or has any opportunity been afforded them to co-operate, in the legislation which was deemed expedient at this period?

Sir, I know it has been said that there is inextricable confusion, from a want of legislation, in the colony; that there are a great many laws which require to be immediately passed. Sir, the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Home Department, who writes the despatch of the 15th of February, says, that upon looking over the seventeen Acts which are blazoned forth in the letter of the Governor as Acts which were of vital importance to the colony, the not passing of which was an incalculable injury, there is one only which is of immediate importance, and that is the Police Act. Now, with respect to the Police Act the Governor himself possesses in his character of Captain General the means of providing an adequate force, either civil or military, for the purpose of repressing any insubordination or of executing civil process.

Sir, I confess when I look at the conduct of the Governor, he seems to have imbibed in an extraordinary degree the spirit of the Government here, judging, as I must do, of that spirit from the conduct of the Government towards Jamaica.

I am now about to refer to a passage in his despatch of the 24th of December. I am not afraid before this House to quote the passage, because I am quite persuaded that when it is read, proceeding as it does from the Governor of a colony, one who is especially bound to keep the Government and the public mind in a right state, if you see language used by him indicating intemperance, indiscretion, a spirit of partizanship, indicating a desire to create a prejudice in this country against the people of the colony—I am not afraid, I say, that his language or his remarks can produce any unfair impression upon this House. Sir, he takes upon himself to state, “My late despatches will have prepared your Lordship for the event which the new House of Assembly brought about, a confirmation of the resolutions of the last House to do no business in consequence of the interference of Parliament in passing the Prisons Bill. Your Lordship will be fully satisfied from this last appeal to the electoral body, that *no House of Assembly can now be found that will acknowledge the authority of the Queen, Lords and Commons to enact laws for Jamaica, or that will be likely to pass just and prudent laws for that large portion of the negro population lately brought into freedom.*”

Now, I confidently ask, where is the evidence to justify Sir L. Smith in making this statement respecting the persons whom he thus grossly calumniates? Have they had an opportunity of seeing and repelling any thing upon which he can found the conclusion that they will never acknowledge the authority of the Queen, Lords and Commons to enact laws for Jamaica? Why, Sir, the very resolutions, the whole proceedings which the Assembly have taken upon various

occasions—those resolutions which I have read to-night, contain a clear and explicit recognition of the authority of the Imperial Parliament upon all those subjects of legislation which belong to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, but assert the right of internal legislation as being not only consistent with their constitution, but established by actual usage—a right not to be inferred merely from an abstinence from internal legislation by the Imperial Parliament, but from particular acts, in which the line has been distinctly drawn between legislating for subjects and persons in the United Kingdom and for subjects and persons exclusively in the colony. Sir Lionel Smith says, “ They are not likely to pass just and prudent laws for that large portion of the negro population lately brought into freedom.” Upon what authority can Sir Lionel Smith, or can any man, tell Her Majesty’s Government that he will predicate of the future disposition and feelings of the Jamaica Assembly, not from any thing that they have done (for they have never been engaged in legislation since the apprenticeship has been abolished, since all those anomalies and difficulties incident to legislation in that state—anomalies and difficulties admitted by the noble Lord the Secretary at War, in his printed speech on the 30th March 1838, and admitted by him for the purpose of vindicating the Assembly. Upon what ground, I ask, does Sir Lionel Smith dare to make this prediction of the future conduct of the House of Assembly, conveying the gross charge that they have not the disposition to make fair, just and prudent laws for the protection of that population? It was not twelve months before that, in his speech, he commended them for their conduct and disposition. The House of Assembly was at that time composed of nearly the same persons. What can have occasioned this alteration in the Governor’s estimate of their disposition? Was it the abandonment by them at once of the apprenticeship, releasing this country from the fulfilment of its pledge to continue it for two years

longer, abandoning that which formed part of their compensation, and abandoning it in order that they might purchase, if it were possible, a better disposition of the Government, and put an end to all future distrust and collision.

But, Sir, where am I? Am I in a British House of Commons, sitting in the exercise of judicial functions on this occasion, for I am defending the people of Jamaica against a Bill of pains and penalties; and are they to be tried and punished, not for crimes, or for acts which are treated as crimes already committed, but upon the presumption, prediction or speculation which a Governor chooses to entertain of the future dispositions of all the persons in Jamaica who may possess the qualification to become, and may become members of the House of Assembly. But, Sir, do the Government believe this representation? They do not; they cannot believe it. I must say so, for otherwise I should have to impute to the Government the disingenuousness, the unfairness, the injustice of supporting this Bill upon a ground different from that which they allege in the preamble of the Bill. There they tell us, that the ground, the cause for this Bill, is the adoption by the House of Assembly of resolutions suspending their legislative functions. Upon this ground, and for this cause only, they call upon Parliament to supply those functions by a temporary provision. They cannot put their justification of this Bill upon any such ground as that which is stated by the Governor of Jamaica. I shall not deal with it. I am here to defend the Assembly of Jamaica against this Bill of pains and penalties, which it is pretended they have merited by a certain act they have committed; I look therefore to the preamble to see what that act is, for it is in respect of that act, and that act only, that I am here to defend them, and I address myself to that act, and to that act alone.

Sir, I confess it is with great pain and reluctance that I speak in terms which may be considered in any

degree disrespectful towards one entrusted with the high authority possessed by Sir Lionel Smith. But when I find him pronouncing such an opinion as that conveyed in the passage which I have just now read ; when I see what the passage imports, the want of temper with which it is written, and the obvious desire to lead the Government and the people of this country to form an erroneous, unjust and prejudiced estimate of the members of the House of Assembly, I must weigh it with all the deduction to be made from its soundness and correctness, in consequence of the loss of temper and this hostility to the House of Assembly which his whole correspondence exhibits. I must look at something else to assist me in examining the weight which belongs to it. I look at the despatch of the 3d of December 1838, in which he tells Her Majesty's Government, by way of prejudicing the people of this country against those who are interested in the colony, that they are turning the negroes out of their cottages by ejectments ; and then I find that this same despatch conveys returns from clerks of the peace throughout the island of the number of ejectments which have been issued ; and I find that, with the exception of some eight or ten instances in the very extensive parish of Westmoreland, the returns from the twenty other parishes are " nil " ; and in the return from Westmoreland, the eight or ten instances of ejectments took place upon grounds which are distinctly stated in the return.

Sir, I look to another despatch, that which conveys Sir Lionel Smith's speech to a Baptist congregation on the 5th of January. He there says, " I have sent to England numerous testimonies that where labour has been encouraged by fair remuneration and kind treatment, it has nowhere been wanting." Five days afterwards, in his despatch, he says, " both parties are unreasonable." Sir, a cloud of prejudice obscures the mind of Sir Lionel Smith. His judg-

ment is in bondage to his passions. If I were asked for any further proof of his spirit of partizanship, I would refer to that which is afforded by the nature of the information communicated to this House by the government, and furnished by Sir Lionel Smith. The West India Papers laid on the table of the House containing that information convey no statement from any person of an opinion favourable to the colony, or favourable to the individuals in it. Contradicted, as have been the statements made by the stipendiary magistrates, and which furnish the bulk of the reports transmitted by Sir Lionel Smith, his communications convey those statements only. He adopts them. No person can read them and the observations which accompany them without at once perceiving that they proceed from persons under the strong influence of partizanship and prejudice. Sir Lionel Smith ought to have perceived it. Statements of an opposite character he does not transmit to the Government. He has not dealt fairly with the Government nor with the public, and still less with the people of Jamaica, by giving this imperfect and partial information, and that too of a description calculated to create feelings of hostility and prejudice against those who are resident in the colony.

Sir, there is another statement made by Sir Lionel Smith which is certainly of a singular character, and which is also calculated to leave the House under a very erroneous impression. He talks of the white population entitled to the exercise of the elective franchise, first, as low as 1,500, then 1,700, and at last makes them amount to 2,000. Sir, the white population of the city of Kingston alone exceeds 5,000. Does any man mean to say that his representation of the white population of Jamaica is correct? The white population is stated to be 30,000. There is the same inaccuracy with respect to the coloured population; of whom there are not less than 110,000. Sir, I ask, is it fair dealing to lay before the House

this description of the state of the relative condition of the different classes of society?

Sir, again, he says, there are 300,000 who will not be represented for fifteen months. That implies that they will be capable of returning representatives in fifteen months. Sir, I was rather puzzled to know what was meant by the fifteen months which must elapse, and considering that Sir Lionel Smith has an executive council to whom he may continually resort, and an attorney-general and a chief justice, it is somewhat singular that he should not have conveyed to the Government a correct notion even on this subject. It would be supposed that fifteen months must elapse between the time of a man acquiring the freehold which gives him a qualification and his having a right to exercise it. It is true that his title, his qualification, must be recorded for twelve months in the secretary's office, and that it must be recorded also three months in the parish books of the parish for which he claims to vote; but he may put his qualification upon the books of the parish two days after he has put it in the secretary's office; so that while the twelve months are running to make out the period required for the registration in the secretary's office, the three months are running during which his qualification must be registered in the parish office; so that, in fact, it would be twelve months, and not fifteen.

Sir, I have a right to call the attention of the House to this erroneous representation, because it is a representation intended to operate adversely to the interests of the assembly. But he says fifteen months must elapse before those persons are capable of being represented; that would imply that they had all a qualification. Sir, I hope that the negro population may speedily acquire a qualification to vote, and exercise that qualification. I fear nothing from its exercise. I am not one of those to urge, and God forbid that I should ever stand at this bar to urge that they should not have the full enjoyment of political rights, now

that they possess the rights of freedom. I never would contend, I do not believe the House of Assembly would ever require me to contend, but I know that I never would contend, that such a measure as would suspend for a time the exercise by the negro population of their political franchises ought to receive the sanction of this House. "Oh," it has been said by some of your liberal principle professing politicians, "such a measure is required to preserve the ascendancy and to prevent the entire swamping of the white population." Those who are the best able to judge, namely, the people in the colony, have no such fears on this account. Those whom I represent, are not only not unwilling, but are desirous that the emancipated population should enjoy and exercise the elective franchise. They know that in the natural course of events, and according to the ordinary principles of human nature, their exercise of that franchise cannot place in jeopardy the other classes of society. I confess having, from my long residence in Jamaica, no inconsiderable experience of the emancipated population, and having unbounded confidence in their disposition and their feelings of attachment and respect towards the other classes of society, that I am persuaded they will return to the Assembly those who are best qualified from their character, property and station. Sir L. Smith has represented that the 300,000 emancipated negroes will in fifteen months become entitled to the qualification to vote. Sir, that will be true, provided they have acquired the property which gives the qualification; but it would have been quite as well if Sir Lionel Smith had told the Government how many of those 300,000 were possessed of the electoral qualification.

Sir, if the House were to read the statement of Sir Lionel Smith it would be inclined to believe that the qualification was what it is said to be by the ex-commissioner, Captain Pringle, in his pamphlet, namely a 40s. freehold. The ex-commissioner writes on sub-

jects in this pamphlet, of which he is grossly ignorant. The qualification is a freehold of 10*l.* currency, or a leasehold property of the annual rent of 50*l.* currency ; a qualification, in the estimation of Lord Glenelg, sufficiently low.

His Lordship, in a despatch which is to be found in page 20 of the printed papers, conveys this opinion, and, at the same time, discusses this subject with no apprehension that any evil will result from the extension of the elective franchise. The despatch to which I am now adverting, is an exceedingly important one. It contains this passage :—“ Her Majesty’s Government having maintained in the most decisive terms, and, without exception, the principle that neither distinctions of national origin nor those of religious opinion” (he has, in the preceding part of the despatch, stated that there are no laws creating those distinctions in Jamaica), “ should be admitted in the West Indies, as disqualifications for office, and having opposed themselves to the adoption of proprietary qualifications, designed or calculated to accomplish that disqualification by indirect means, have never denied that the possession of some definite amount of property ought to accompany the exercise of all the more considerable franchises, whether political or judicial, of those colonies. They regard property there as the proper criterion of fitness for such trusts, first, because the holders of it have a more direct and palpable interest than other men in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in *avoiding crude and dangerous experiments on established institutions*, and secondly because property, as it affords the means of leisure and education, raises a fair presumption of superior knowledge, intelligence, and fitness for the conduct of civil business. I am disposed to admit, that the proprietary qualification ought not only to be maintained, but to be attended with new and effectual securities for ascertaining that it is not fraudulently claimed. But I am still more disposed to acknowledge that, in the very

peculiar state of society in the West Indies, it would be reasonable to demand, as a test of the right of exercising these franchises, that they should be *enjoyed by none who cannot read and write*. This is a test which might be readily applied in any case in which there might be reason to suppose that a party claiming to vote or to be elected was so illiterate as to be destitute of the first rudiments of learning, and the efforts made for the diffusion of knowledge would render any complaint of such a criterion ill-founded and unreasonable." Here, Sir, is the Secretary for the Colonies laying down certain principles with respect to the qualification of the negro population, and of all classes in the colony, which are sound and unexceptionable, and which of themselves would furnish the great security upon which the colonists might rely against any possible evil resulting from the experience of the elective franchise.

I never can, I never will, acquiesce in the justice of an expedient which professes to pass the Bill upon the pretext stated in the preamble, namely, the proceedings of the House of Assembly in 1838, and yet solicits the support of the members of this House upon a pretext, which is not put forward in the preamble of the Bill, and which is not even publicly avowed,—a pretext which, if it were really put forward, would be most unjust to the emancipated population. I reprobate the resort to that pretext, just as much as I should reprobate the resort by the Government to the pretext, that the white population ought not to be trusted with legislation,—a pretext too unfounded, too unjust, to be stated in the preamble as the ground of this Bill. It would be a gross calumny, which no minister ought to sanction.

Sir, it is impossible for me to avoid advertng to one inevitable consequence which must result from uniting in one body all the legislative and executive functions of the Government. Sir, it is quite evident that part of this scheme is to carry on the legislation

of the colonies, not in the colonies themselves, but in detailed enactments from Downing-street. Sir, if I were asked what has placed most of our colonies in collision, and in a state of dissatisfaction with the Government here, I should say it was the system pursued by the Government for some years in the legislation for the colonies. It has had the effect of completely destroying the vigour and embarrassing the exercise of the executive authority in the colony. It exhibits the Governor as an instrument, a mere machine put in motion, and acting by means of instructions from Downing-street. Sir, this was not the mode in which the administration of the colonies was conducted in more prosperous times, and when too it was conducted without producing collision or angry feelings between their legislatures and executive government.

Sir, this is not only my own opinion. It is the opinion of every man acquainted or connected with the government of the colonies. It is the opinion of a noble Earl who stood so high in the confidence of Her Majesty's Government that they intrusted him with powers more ample than were ever given to any subject when they sent him as Governor-General of our North American possessions. He has said in his report, and said truly, that the origin of all our difficulties in the colonies is, that instead of selecting a Governor in whom you can repose implicit confidence, and giving him instructions so full and comprehensive as to enable him entirely to understand your views and act on his own responsibility, you put him in a situation in which he exhibits his weakness and the little confidence reposed in him. He can scarcely give an answer to a message without sending home to Downing-street to know what that answer shall be. I say that the effect is, and necessarily must be, to weaken the executive government in the colony, and to bring it in collision with the assemblies. They will not respect a Governor when they see that the Govern-

ment here does not sufficiently respect him to make him the depository of their confidence. It weakens the attachment of the Assembly to the Government here, because that Government is continually present to them as criticising and condemning with technical captiousness their enactments.

Sir, what is the course which the Government ought to pursue? You have a Governor in the colony as the representative of Her Majesty, who has the veto upon all laws which are passed by the Assembly; you have an executive council appointed by the Governor, who are, or ought to be, acquainted with the instructions which he possesses, and who, sitting as a legislative council, can carry completely into effect the views of the Government. Two of the members of that council are the Chief Justice and Attorney-General. Why, I ask, does not the Government furnish the Governor, and through the Governor the executive council with their views, so as to obtain their assistance in carrying them, as a branch of the legislature, into effect, making by amendments the enactments of the Assembly conformable to those views, instead of allowing the council to pass laws in the state in which they are sent from the Assembly, and the Governor to give his assent to them, and then, after months and months have elapsed, sending a long despatch with criticisms upon their enactments, and casting the whole blame on the Assembly; although the Assembly is but one part of the legislature, and the Governor and council have concurred in those enactments.

Sir, I will select one instance amongst many to show the evil of this system. An Act for the classification of apprentices was passed by the Assembly in compliance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government. In a despatch from Lord Glenelg, dated the 1st of May 1837, he says, "I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 76, of the 13th of March, transmitting the Act for the classification of the apprenticed labourers. It is very gratifying to

me to learn by this despatch the successful result of my recommendation, and of your efforts to introduce a classification which will effectually obviate the confusion and discontents which might otherwise have prevailed at the expiration of fifteen months from the present time. In this result I gladly acknowledge one of the beneficial consequences which had followed from the friendly understanding which has prevailed between yourself and the House of Assembly." Now, Sir, here is, on the 1st of May 1837, the most unqualified approbation expressed of this Act for the classification of negroes; and in a despatch of the 7th of September 1837, Lord Glenelg says, that he has advised Her Majesty to disallow that Act.

Sir, I might refer to another proof of the difficulty which must always attend the system of legislation in Downing-street. In the despatch, to which I have referred, of the 15th of September 1838: it appears that Lord Glenelg had on the 6th of November 1837 sent a circular to the Governors of the different West India colonies for the purpose of obtaining their answers to a great number of questions. I confess that it does seem to me surprising that those who had been administering the government of the colonies here for so many years should upon those common, familiar subjects have been so ignorant as to render such questions necessary. But the most surprising fact is, that after they get the answers to those questions, they are told that a poll-tax existed in Jamaica, though it had been in existence for seventy or eighty years, and perfectly known and perfectly familiar to every one having the slightest acquaintance with the colony. The Colonial Office does not at this hour understand what the poll-tax was; for it is evident, from the comments which are made, that they suppose it to be a tax imposed upon every individual, rich or poor; whereas the poll-tax was imposed upon persons according to the number of polls, not their own, but those of their negroes.

In fact, it is scarcely possible to conceive a tax in itself more fair and equitable, for it was levied upon every person, according to his ability to pay; and a man who had not above a certain number of negroes paid nothing at all; others paid according to the value of their property, that is, according to the number of their negroes.

Now, Sir, to show that the nature of this tax is not understood, there is in Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 15th September 1838, which I have before quoted, a very learned reasoning, pretty much like the reasoning of Adam Smith, by way of objection to this tax, founded upon the erroneous supposition that the poll-tax of Jamaica imposed the same amount on all persons: it is this; "The principles of taxation usually adopted in this country are unequivocally opposed to an impost so unequal as a poll-tax of precisely the same amount on the rich and on the poor. I do not now enter upon the large and arduous inquiry how far those principles might demand some modification when applied to societies like those of the British West Indies." There never was a poll-tax in Jamaica of the nature to which this observation could be applicable.

Sir, again it is supposed that there is a qualification required for holding certain offices. There is no qualification whatever required. The special magistrates who have not an acre of land are in the commission of the peace as local magistrates, by the direction of the Colonial Office. There is not even a freehold qualification required for having a seat in the council. Members of council need not have one sixpence of property upon the island; they may in fact have no more interest in the colony than the three salaried or stipendiary councillors or commissioners, who it is proposed by the present measure should be sent from this country, and constitute a part of the new Government. But I beg pardon; if this Bill is passed they will soon have a very considerable interest; be-

cause, as the powers are vested in the council, of which those stipendiary councillors are to form part; and as the whole power of raising taxes will be placed in this body, those councillors will certainly have a very serious interest in the colony, because they will have power to raise taxes to pay the public creditors, and to pay themselves, as public creditors, that amount of salary which in their moderation and wisdom they shall think fit to fix, or shall assist in fixing, as a suitable equivalent for those great resources and those splendid acquirements which are to be carried from this country for the benefit of Jamaica.

Now, Sir, the House must be aware that there is not any mention in the proposed Bill of any provision for paying those salaried councillors or commissioners. Had such a clause been introduced into the Bill there might have been this embarrassment. Those who watch narrowly what is taken from the public purse of this country might have imagined that the public purse of *this* country was to pay for those salaried councillors, and have objected to this Bill on that account; but when it is told them, "Do not make yourselves uneasy; we are not to pay these worthy gentlemen, but the people of Jamaica are to provide and pay their salaries by means of the taxes which these worthy gentlemen will assist in imposing," the objection may be withdrawn. The public purse of this country was safe, and the public purse of Jamaica was not the object of their watchfulness. But how will you get these three councillors? Why, Her Majesty, by virtue of Her prerogative, can appoint such councillors as Her Majesty's advisers please, and those councillors thus appointed will have the power, as they no doubt will have the pleasure, to raise those taxes which will be necessary to award an adequate remuneration to themselves for the services they have already rendered, or may hereafter render, to the Ministry from whom they received their appointment.

Sir, I feel that I have very largely drawn upon the

patience of this House, and I have received a large share of it, for which I am indeed most grateful. But I cannot content myself with appealing to the justice only of the House, though I know that it is, as it ought to be, the strongest ground for the maintenance of the rights which are to be invaded by the proposed Bill. There are also considerations of sound wisdom and of sound policy which should enforce the dictates of justice. Sir, I cannot look at this measure simply as to its injustice, and as to the rights which it violates; but I must look at the effect this measure will produce on all classes of society in Jamaica, and on the future welfare and happiness of that colony. Sir, the measure itself, its character, the great change it must produce, the previous habits and feelings it must disturb and derange, the persons by whom it is brought forward, the classes of the society whom it will affect, the extraordinary, unprecedented crisis when it is made, are circumstances which seem to point out (if an accumulation of circumstances can point out to a deliberate body) the tremendous responsibility to be incurred if this measure be adopted.

Sir, already one great change has taken place in the state of society in the colony. You have put an end to slavery. You have put an end to the apprenticeship. You have abolished all distinctions arising from the difference of colour. You are desirous of carrying on the future cultivation of the colony with advantage to the landholder, and for the benefit and happiness of the labouring population. You would promote a spirit of justice and fair dealing on the part of all classes towards each other. You are desirous, by means of the picture which may be presented of the successful issue of the great measure of emancipation, by the continued and increasing prosperity of the colony, to encourage every country in which slavery still exists, to break the bonds of the captive, and let him go free.

You are, and must be, desirous of promoting in the negro population, a spirit of conciliation towards

the persons with whom they have been accustomed to live in the relation of slaves, and with whom they are now to live upon terms of perfect equality in the relation of labourers working for the wages which are given to them. It is for your interest, as it is for the interest of the negro population themselves, to conciliate them towards the other classes of society,—you want to inspire, not to destroy, confidence on the part of the negro towards those classes; and yet, just as you are entering upon this new state of things, you would make this change in the constitution, which tells them in plain language that the Crown, the Government, the Parliament, and the people of England, think it right to degrade the other classes, to place them in a different position from that which they previously occupied, upon the supposition (for there are mischievous people enough to insinuate, aye, and avow it) that they cannot be trusted, that they have not the fairness or the justice to qualify them for legislating for the emancipated population.

Now, Sir, if the classes in that community are to be operated upon by the ordinary principles which sway mankind, is it possible to conceive that they can look at this great change which you are proposing to effect in the constitution of Jamaica, otherwise than as connected with, or as the consequence of, their emancipation from slavery, or otherwise than as lowering the station of the other classes? You cannot degrade those classes without counteracting that spirit of conciliation in the emancipated population towards them which you are desirous of promoting, without destroying every chance of establishing the relations of employer and voluntary labourer for wages on that foundation of kindness and confidence which is required to maintain them. You will destroy all possible chance of retaining persons in the colony for the purpose of embarking their capital, without which capital it will not be possible to continue the cultivation of the colony.

Sir, it is not only an act of unparalleled injustice to make this change at all, but to make it at such a crisis as the present is a fearful thing. That any government should, by this measure, venture to incur the tremendous responsibility of having it imputed to them that they had themselves defeated the great measure of emancipation, and all the blessed results which may follow from it, is almost beyond my belief ; and yet they will and must incur that imputation, if they persevere in a measure which cannot fail to excite suspicion, distrust and ill-will on the part of the emancipated population towards all the other classes of the community, and withdraw from them the motives which might encourage them to engage in honest, voluntary industry, and especially the prospect of assisting in the government when they have become possessed of that property which qualifies them to be electors and representatives.

If the measure which this Bill proposes to effect be adopted, you will have sealed the fate of Jamaica. I say so advisedly. I say so as the result of my own experience, as well as of all the information which I have received from others, and as the result too of that estimate which I can form of the character of the emancipated population, from all I have personally known of them, and from all which I have since heard of them.

Sir, I trust that this House will deliberate and decide on this measure under the influence and guidance of those principles with which it is accustomed to regard the invasion of its own rights. I am persuaded that when this House reviews the whole of the proceedings of the Government towards the Assembly of Jamaica, the situation in which they were placed by them, and the rights which they were bound to vindicate, this House will take a fair, calm, just and dispassionate view of the conduct of the Assembly. I ask you, not to presume them guilty of a crime which is not even alleged against them. I

ask you, not to presume the existence of a pretext because it is stated in the preamble of the Bill, when it is disproved by the whole course and conduct of the Assembly. If there were error, if there were intemperance, if there were indiscretion in the course of proceeding which the Assembly adopted, for what cause, I ask, and in defence of what rights, was that course taken? You are not disposed nor accustomed to weigh strictly, to scan scrupulously, every expression used by a public body in vindication of rights to which they consider themselves entitled as free-born British subjects, in order that you may detect something to condemn. You would rather look to the rights themselves which were considered as invaded by the proceedings adopted against them, and, with feelings of consideration for those rights, judge of the mode by which they struggled to maintain them. The Assembly of Jamaica made their appeal to Her Majesty against conduct on the part of Her Majesty's Government, which they considered as an invasion of their constitutional rights and privileges; they waited till they received an answer to that appeal before they engaged in any other functions, except those in which, like good subjects, they had always been ready to engage, namely, the taking care that Her Majesty's Government, and the servants of Her Majesty's Government, should not sustain any prejudice from their proceedings.

Sir, I have, I believe, now addressed to the House considerations which, I humbly think, ought to satisfy the House that this Bill is not warranted by the pretext which its preamble assigns, that there was no justifiable ground for the interposition of Parliament in passing the Prisons Act, either in the character of the Act, the state of the law in the colony, or the conduct of the Assembly; that the pretext, even if it had existed, would not have justified so heavy a punishment as this Bill inflicts. Sir, if the House consults, as I am sure it will consult, its own sense of

justice, and its own attachment for its constitutional privileges, it will refuse its sanction to this Bill. Sir, if the House consults its wisdom, and its regard for the real interest of this colony, and of all the classes of which its society is composed, as I am quite sure the House is desirous of doing, I am equally persuaded it will refuse its sanction to this Bill. Sir, I retire from this bar with the confident hope that the House will refuse its sanction to this Bill, and with the equally confident belief that the House will hereafter look back on that decision with the satisfaction of knowing, that it has not only maintained inviolate the great principles of justice with which you would act towards fellow-subjects who are not represented here; but has also most effectually promoted the good order, the peace and the prosperity of this great colony, and the welfare and happiness of all classes of its inhabitants.

THE END.

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The Perfect Charming!

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P. 1
A LETTER

TO THE

HON. HENRY CLAY,

Of Kentucky,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF REPLY

TO SOME

STATEMENTS OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY,

IN RELATION TO JAMAICA.

BY

GEORGE PRATT BURRELL,

Late a Jamaica Planter.

NEW YORK:

NARINE & CO'S PRINT, 11 WALL ST. N. Y.

1840.

A LETTER
TO THE
HON. HENRY CLAY,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF REPLY TO SOME STATEMENTS IN JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY'S LETTER
TO HIM, IN RELATION TO JAMAICA, W. I.

Having learned that a distinguished member of the society of Friends, from England, had published a work containing minute and extensive observations upon the present condition and prospects of the Island of Jamaica, I was curious to see how a personal review of that ill-fated theatre of British benevolence and reform would affect the mind of one eminent for his goodness, sagacity and opposition to colonial slavery. From an intimation in the commencement of the volume, that he paid his visit as a minister of the gospel, I was prepared to believe he had confined himself chiefly to the society of clergymen, but not that he had avoided all other sources of information. A further perusal, however, convinced me that all, or nearly all his intelligence had been communicated to him by Baptist clergymen, a large majority of whom, I regret to say, have prostituted their sacred vocation to the excitement of feelings among the blacks, little less than insurrectionary, and a wanton multiplication of difficulties between them and the planters.

A narrative composed of such disingenuous materials, must, of course, contain numerous statements that are false, and serve, if unrefuted, to convey partial and erroneous impressions. Without impeaching, in the slightest degree, the honest intentions of the

good and gifted author, whose proverbial philanthropy might well excuse him for more serious errors, I deem it my duty, as a friend of truth, to correct some of the misrepresentations into which he has been betrayed.

By announcing myself as a Jamaica planter, born and continually residing there, until the introduction of the free system rendered a further stay but little better than rapid impoverishment and final bankruptcy, I trust I have said enough to ensure me a respectful and favorable hearing. For many years the manager, successively, of various large estates, and in later life, conducting an extensive plantation of my own, I submit if it is quite possible I should have found myself, at a mature age, with a limited knowledge of negro character, the interests of the proprietors, or the general statistics of the Island? The largeness of my personal acquaintance may be inferred from the fact, that he has scarcely mentioned a name, in full or in initials, to which I am a stranger; and I will take this occasion to add, that had it been my lot, as it would have been my pleasure, to *chaperone* him through the "*happy and prosperous colony*," I might, peradventure, have added to his circle of friends some who would have treated him with equal hospitality, and superior information.

Having remained long enough after the act of emancipation to test its consequences fairly and fully, I flatter myself that I am as well fitted as even our sagacious author himself, to contrast critically the present with the past condition of Jamaica. I have thought it proper to say thus much of myself, that no one may be at liberty to charge the following statements to an obtrusive and uninformed wrangler.

The population of Jamaica, I will premise, is divided into two great classes upon the subject of abolition, distinguishable by their respective interests. The negroes themselves, of course, with rare exceptions, are perfectly enamored of a state of things that allows a full abandonment to their natural indolence, and encourages their miserable apories of the dignity of white men. The clergymen of the Baptist persuasion, who, from being the most numerous and best established, sway a predominant influence over the blacks, conceive themselves well rewarded for their noisy and noxious be-

nevolence, by the liberal stipends and very profitable attachments obtained in return. It is easy to designate their position in the controversy. That portion of the Jamaica magistracy supplied from England and elsewhere, to undertake the eating and drinking of sinecure situations, can afford to sacrifice the planter to abstract principles of right. With the same class, likewise, may be ranked many attornies of estates, owned, as is frequently the case, by non-resident proprietors, who alone feel the losses, as they would have reaped the benefits of emancipation. And, finally, the overseers, employed to relieve attornies from the task of personal superintendence, may often be heard descanting, among the rest, upon the marvellous prosperity of the Island.

On the other hand, you will find the planters and proprietors, who alone experienced, in its full severity, the prostration of trade and agriculture, which ensued upon the abolition. As that measure was *whined* and *wept* through parliament, not merely to redeem the British flag from what was considered a stain, but with frequent and emphatic assurances, that it would signally conduce to the profit of the landholders themselves, will it not be regarded as somewhat astonishing that the non-contents are chiefly composed of that identical class? To sum up the whole in a word, the intelligence, enterprise, wealth and dignity of Jamaica, are undeniably dissatisfied with this most disastrous reform; while those whose fortunes rose from the depression of its sound and stable interests, are zealous in trumpeting to the world "*how well it works.*"

I am now prepared to ask, if a discriminating man, sincerely searching after truth, for the purpose of publication, ought to have given either of two violently conflicting parties a monopoly of his attention and confidence? Should he have confined himself exclusively to those views of the doubtful picture to which the one commended him, and obstinately refuse a moment's notice to the suggestions of the other? Could he easily persuade himself he was garnering up genuine materials for his work, while thus reaping from the fields where corrupt interest and partizan eagerness had sown? But let us hasten to his Journal.

At page 73 Mr. Gurney says, he was welcomed on his arrival by John and Maria Candler, members of his own Society, W. W. An-

derson, a lawyer of eminence, and Charles Lake, a colored member of the legislature. With John and Maria I have not the pleasure of an acquaintance, but Lake and Anderson I know well. They class with the most venomous and violent abolitionists in the Island, and are boiling with too fierce a zeal in the cause to be safe guides to a candid and fairly disposed enquirer. I am apprehensive that Mr. Gurney is indebted to their early impressments upon his mind for the false bias that so obstinately clung to it in his after perambulations.

On the next page, he alludes to a brace of black Aldermen, and pronounces them, "in his judgment, equally qualified with their colleagues." Now, it is notoriously the fact, that a vast majority of the colored functionaries are ignorant, illiterate and imbecile, while the white branch of the magistracy of Kingston are distinguished, as a whole, for their dignity, education and capacity. I cannot but insist, it is scandalous to institute a comparison at all, and doubly so to suggest the idea of equal adaptedness to office and authority.

On the fourth day after his arrival, he held forth in the Baptist chapel of Samuel Oughton. The sobriety and candor of this worthy may be inferred from the fact, that he was recently burdened with a heavy judgment for gross defamation upon a highly respectable inhabitant of the island, and in default of payment was consigned to prison. By a late Jamaica paper, I learn, the too forgiving object of his malice has since very generously offered to remit the verdict, on payment of the costs of suit. Men who, in pursuit of their fanatical designs, do not scruple to make havoc of unsoiled private reputation, ought not to be trusted with the inclining of our partialities upon the very subject which so inordinately excites them.

On page 77, in reporting a visit to Papine, the estate of Mr. J. B. Wildman, after betraying the looseness of his inquiries, or the treachery of his memory in giving it two hundred slaves under slavery, when in fact there wanted sixty of that number, to my own positive knowledge, he states that the young people are taught to read, and furnished with Bibles, as if it was a new privilege, for which they are indebted to freedom. The fact is, Mr. Wildman employed teachers of the Episcopal persuasion upon his estate

twenty years ago ; and, moreover, when I resided in Jamaica, the belief in Obeah, or evil witchcraft, which seems to have sprung up under the Baptist dynasty, was but little known among his people. He says "this estate is worked by forty free laborers." Why did he not go on, and disclose the additional fact, that since full freedom it makes little or no returns to the proprietor ?

At page 78, he takes up the Hope estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, and remarks, that Joseph Gordon, the present lessee, at the rate of £2000 sterling per annum, is bringing the property round by free labor, and will doubtless make it answer his purpose." If his purpose be ruin, Mr. Gurney's prediction is clearly a safe one. At the close of 1838, or the beginning of 1839, the principal part of the works were burnt to the ground by "the peaceable and quiet negroes,"* and the crops, since, have fallen woefully short of paying expenses.

This plantation is situated in the Parish of St. Andrew, Lowland District, and consists of about three thousand acres, and in 1832 was peopled by three hundred and seventy-three slaves. The coffee mountain, connected with and contiguous to it, supported, at the same period, two hundred and nineteen. It enjoys the advantages of copious irrigation from Hope river, shared only by one or two other estates, of a location near a capital market, of a salubrious climate and a fertile soil. It is superbly wooded, has admirable grazing districts, and furnishes the finest of Muscatelle grapes and Riply pine apples. During slavery, its average crop of sugar amounted to more than three hundred and fifty hogsheads ; since then, it has not exceeded sixty hogsheads. Nay, it has not, with all its signal and peerless facilities for profitable management, paid the proprietor one per cent. upon its value ! The coffee mountain formerly yielded 80,000 pounds annually : it has since fallen in arrear of its contingencies !

" — So much for Buckingham."

In relation to the difficulties growing out of the subject of rent to which Mr. Gurney frequently alludes in the course of his work, it

* NOTE. These works, and the negro houses, were again, some few months since, entirely consumed. No doubt exists but that the negroes were the incendiaries.

cannot be contested by any one conversant with the facts, that the blacks have been *viciously dissuaded* from entering into fair and proper arrangements. It has been usual for the planters, in consideration that the negroes would remain upon their estates, to let them their houses and provision grounds at a rent merely nominal ; in some instances, for absolutely nothing allowing them, moreover, a reasonable daily hire.

A gentleman of my intimate acquaintance, Mr. Garriques, adopted this liberal policy upon an estate in Vere, Yarmouth. But I regret to say, the Baptists and Methodists have fatally interfered, by impressing upon the minds of the negroes, that they have an undoubted right to labor where they list, thus defeating the very inducement to the contract. In consequence, the planters have been frequently abandoned by the blacks upon whose aid they very justly reckoned, at seasons of the last necessity, and in this way left to contemplate their products wasting on the soil. One of Mr. Garriques' estates in St. Thomas in the east, called "Betty's Hope," where he charges the blacks not a farthing of rent, brought him in debt, during the year past, about twelve hundred dollars. Another gentleman of Jamaica informs me of an instance still closer to the point. He proposed to his people that they should each take as many acres of coffee as they could keep in thorough order—prune, clean and supply as required ; at the very liberal rate of \$12 per acre. A man with his wife and two children, in pursuance of this plan, could safely have undertaken the care of four acres. Besides, they might have availed themselves to considerable profit of the spare time, in the way of extra jobs. In addition, the picking of the coffee, at the rate of 1s 6d sterling per bushel, would have swelled the whole amount of their annual income to at least \$100, free from all expense, either of house and provision grounds, or medical attendance, and with the privilege, too, of running their hogs. As an alternative for the extra jobs, he proposed that they might take as many acres of virgin woodland adjoining the coffee plantation as they pleased, fall them and plant them with coffee and ground provisions, the latter for their own exclusive profit ; and, at the expiration of three years, after bringing the estate up by cultivation, to be compensated for their labor, at such valuation as fair

assessors should agree upon. This offer they rejected with utter scorn !

Faithfulness is now seldom met with among the negroes, and no safe reliance can be placed upon their agreements. Under the instructions of their mischievous guardians, they cherish feelings of hostility towards their former masters, and seem rather desirous to embarrass and injure their interests than promote their own. The fairness of the proprietors in the arrangements proposed by them, is evident from the simple fact, that the houses and grounds, let gratuitously to the blacks, more than yield them an ample support. Many of them are indulged with the choicest lands on the estates, sometimes to the extent of ten acres. In the Hope estate, the spontaneous fruits alone gave them nearly \$4 per week. Some of them, the more ingenious and industrious, save £50 sterling in the course of the year.

On the 81st page, our author mentions one George Atkinson as a planter. This is a misrepresentation. He is no more a planter than Mr. Gurney himself ; but an opulent merchant in Kingston, and lately officiating as attorney for Messrs. W. R. & S. Mitchell's estates. He says this gentleman gave him a favorable account of affairs in Jamaica. Singular it is, indeed ! that one who is notoriously doing worse than any other in the whole Island, should be in such high glee with the ebb tide of fortune. I can scarcely divine to what pitch of elation he would attain, if he should utterly ruin himself.

In visiting Halberstadt, a coffee plantation, belonging to John Casper Weiss, our author pops into a fit of delight, upon learning the "marked success," which attends the operation of the free system there. "He finds the saving of expense to be obvious." "His friend" allows the average cost of supporting a slave to be £5 sterling. One moment here. I flatter myself I furnished my people a larger supply than any proprietor in Jamaica, except, perhaps, one. This assertion is made boldly, not from motives of vanity, but as a matter of fact, available for comparison; and it did not cost *me* that sum. How Mr. Weiss managed to inflate his old expense book so, I can explain with no other presumption than that he was willing to sacrifice his arithmetic to the abolition partialities

of his guest. "Mr. Weiss only pays his laborers 4s 6d per week." I think I have a right to wonder at such a statement, after having been obstreperously laughed at for offering that sum. The truth is, and it cannot be soberly denied, the negroes will not pick coffee at a less rate than 1s 8d per bushel, and then only when they can pick three bushels per day. I am sorry to find Mr. Gurney readily incorporating into his journal statements so inaccurate, given listlessly or loosely, or from a very natural indisposition to acknowledge ill success. It really seems, that in his eagerness to procure flattering views of the picture, he entirely laid aside his discrimination and *dodged* his opportunities for fair, general enquiry. He has even mistated the method of curing coffee. The first process is picking; then pulping, by which the rind and pulp of the fruit are divested; then thoroughly cleansed in large cisterns; then spread out on the Barbecues, some of which contain thirty thousand square feet; then, after being well dried, subjected to the process of being ground out in the mill; then passed through a fanner to winnow off the trash; and, lastly, hand picked ready for market.

He next proceeds to Lucky Valley, of which Mr. Hector McLean Wood is the proprietor. The prosperity of this, as of most of the estates mentioned by Mr. Gurney, is in the paulo-past future tense. I know it has thus far invariably brought the proprietor in debt; and (without wishing to be intrusive) I entertain serious doubts, if rent day would not have been rather troublesome to him, had he not resorted to *certain* extraordinary resources. Mr. Wood's authority as to the operation of freedom in Jamaica, will be somewhat impaired, I think, by the circumstance that he is subject to occasional fits of mental derangement, the most striking symptom of which, some might perhaps recognize, in his blustering approbation of the present state of affairs.

Again, on page 87th, he commits an error in mentioning Judge Bernard "as a planter of the highest respectability." He is *not* a planter, although filling an attorneyship for Mr. Dawkins. By the way, let me remark, that with the exception of Dawkins, Caymanas and Sutton's pasture, this gentleman's estates have been steadily sinking money.

As to Richard Hill, Secretary of the Department of Stipendiary

Magistrates, to whom Mr. Gurney was so well pleased to be introduced, and from whom he imagined "he received much valuable information," I have to observe, that although admittedly a man of considerable capacity, he has proved himself the most troublesome and pernicious negro adviser in the Island. The epithet "black viper," by which he was indignantly distinguished, had an application as merited as odious. The general and permanent interests of the country were matters foreign to his care, and like too many of his abolition co-operators, he was ever prepared to make havoc of merchant, proprietor and planter, to the advancement of the blacks. Mr. G. says he had been offered the administration of St. Lucie. I say, it is a matter of profound regret among the genuine and intelligent well wishers of Jamaica, that he did not accept the proposition. While such pestilential spirits as this Hill and the Baptist brotherhood are busy in the task of interrupting amicable dealings between the blacks and their former masters, it is worse than idle to anticipate a renewal of prosperity.

With reference to Mr. Charles Nicholas Palmer, "formerly a member of the English parliament," I learn he was obliged to quit the scene of his official honors some time since, on account of insolvency, generally attributed to the ruinous operation of his colonial possessions. At two of them, "Retirement," in St. Thomas in the vale, and "Palmyra Pen," in St. Dorothy, every negro was sold for debt. The first mentioned freehold is now rented for \$300 per annum, and offered to be sold for \$3000: it comprises 460 acres. "Rose Hill," in Clarendon, which, up to the death of its attorney, Mr. Donald McLean ~~Wood~~, (previous to the date of full freedom,) used alone to average one hundred and sixty hogsheads of sugar annually, has not since, although reinforced by the negroes of three other thrown-up estates, produced, in the aggregate, two hundred hogsheads. Or if so, I would ask Mr. Palmer, if the contingencies did not steal the march of his proceeds? For my own part, I hazard the assertion, it has not averaged eighty hogsheads per annum.

Our benign tourist afterwards enjoyed a pleasant *tete-a-tete* with the Rev. J. M. Phillipo, a Baptist Missionary in Spanishtown. I will remark, however sincere Mr. P.'s enthusiasm in behalf of the

blacks, his labours among them, fortunately for himself, have been attended with the least possible degree of self-denial and personal privation. He has found himself able, by dint of the maccaronies and round dollars of his sable lambs, to support one of the most magnificent and luxurious establishments in Spanishtown. While the deserted planter has had daily occasion to mourn over the short comings of his income, Father Phillip, with only a free expenditure of love and *lingo*, has been briskly coining ducats, none the worse, I take it, for passing through sun-burnt fingers. However, be his motives what they may, he has exercised his influence over the negroes to many highly beneficial objects, for which he deserves a marked preference over a vast majority of the Baptist and Methodists.

On his 91st page, Mr. G. alludes to an estate, which I recognize as "Ellis' Caymanas." Here he saw distressing sights. He says the huts and cocoa trees of the negroes had been demolished, and themselves driven away. In the first place, he mistakes the ownership; they belonged to the proprietor. This plantation, being convenient to two markets, Kingston and Spanishtown, the frail negroes could not resist the cogent temptation to steal the nuts and other fruits, and convey them thither, without getting license, paying rent or working upon the property. It was, hence, but a measure of self-protection with the planter to cut off the resources by which the blacks exempted themselves from the necessity of labor. I speak advisedly when I say, so incessant were the robberies committed there, that he could with difficulty secure enough for his own use. I beg Mr. G. to shift his sympathies.

It was at Dawkin's Caymanas, that our good author had an opportunity to witness the interesting spectacle of a *pic-nic dinner*. As to these famous pic-nics, they were of very frequent occurrence upon many neighboring estates, got up mainly for the purpose of re-establishing a friendly feeling between planter and negro. Sir Lionel Smith, the late governor, occasionally attended them with the laudable design of contributing to this desirable result. But alas! the incorrigible Ethiopians usually scampered off with the culinary appointments, and laughed at the disappointed planter for his pains. In short, the scheme was a total failure, and we were left to ruminate

over lost provisions and exploded plans. During the pic-nic epidemic, you could invariably tell where one of these festivals had taken place, by seeing a dozen or more precipitate darkies in full flight, some with choice specimens of capon, others with goodly legs of mutton, and each with his particular favorite in hand. I cannot say, if they generously shared their plunder with their Baptist friends.

On his 94th page, Mr. Gurney describes a visit to Bravo pen, (properly called "Marley Mount,") the seat of Alexander Bravo, a personage of some importance in the Island. He ascribes high praise to Mr. B. for his notable sagacity, and "firmness of purpose," in building the "capital mansion" where he resides, at a time when the prospects of the colony were the darkest, and the success of freedom most problematical. I am sorry to strip Mr. Bravo of the laurels wherewith his kind hearted visitor has crowned him; but truth compels me to state, that he had progressed not a little with his building before the date, even, of the apprenticeship; and the only glory I can discover in the affair, is a magnanimous resolution not to deprive an almost completed palace out of its requisite roof and chimneys. But "Mr. Bravo expressed his confidence in the beneficial and salutary influences of abolition, by purchasing additional properties." Ay, and if I mistake not, he is now in circumstances to pronounce it an instance of *misplaced* confidence. He is not the only gentleman of Jamaica who cherished hopes for the best; and let me add, not the only one who has been woefully disappointed. In reference to Mr. B., I have further to observe, that his coffee properties in Clarendon, which in 1838, with 287 laborers, yielded a crop of 8000 pounds, turned off in 1839 the pitiful amount of twenty tierces! Let those who will, enjoy this mode of "doing well."

His next stopping place was "Kelly's," an estate belonging to Lord Sligo, and under lease to Mr. Bravo. I take the responsibility of saying, his Lordship never did better than in getting this property off his hands. But as his lessee is a contented martyr to abolition, let me not offend his glorious enthusiasm by a tender of compassion; while, at the same time, let me assure him I shall be the last to covet any share of his *wonderful* prosperity.

By the way, I will remark, that Mr. Gurney, in detailing a conversation with one of the blacks on this estate, is kind enough to lend him one or two expressions, which I was not fortunate enough, to hear from a negro, during a Jamaica residence somewhat more protracted than his own. None but old planters would detect them, and at all events they are quite too small to specify. Perhaps, indeed, they may have improved their language correspondently with their political improvement.

At Old Harbor, where he repaired to visit the Rev. Henry Taylor, a Baptist missionary, our author came near being struck dumb with mingled admiration and delight on seeing *two—large—merchantmen* in port, and *another*—actually approaching in the distance ! After such a spectacle, he sat immediately down to wonder on the ineffable prosperity of the country. Mr. G. must forgive me for breaking the pleasing spell by saying, that during the shipping season in former times, there were always from twelve to eighteen sail to be seen there. Let me not be disagreeable, but I will further take the liberty of asking Mr. Gurney why this falling off in commerce ? The harbor is an index of the harvest field ; and when there is an abundance of the staples of exportation, I will guarantee a supply of bottoms to receive them. And yet, fifteen has dwindled into two ! I submit now, is it not difficult to believe, that the emancipation of slavery has promoted the business of Jamaica, when every prominent interest you consider, appears feeble and wasted in comparison with the anti-abolition period ! Before separating on this point, I will ask Mr. Gurney if it is the tremendous increase of crops which has scared off the shipping from Old Harbor ?

A word for the Rev. Henry Taylor. Among the most pernicious and ill-disposed negro advisers in Jamaica, I assign to him the honor of a conspicuous place in the front rank. One case of his malignant interference came within my own knowledge, while residing in the island. The beautiful estate, “ Bushy Park,” so favorably noticed by Mr. Gurney himself, “ for its great extent and fertility,” used to render an average of 600 hogsheads of sugar per annum. On the 14th of May, 1839, when its crops should have been nearly finished, it did not promise one-sixth of that amount. Some weeks, it barely yielded three hogsheads, at an expense, too,

of \$270 a piece, thus evidently leaving the estate in debt. And the secret of this startling decline, I am authorised to say, was nothing else than the pestiferous influence, exercised by this amiable worthy over the laborers. Mr. Gurney, I see, adverts to the same circumstances, and endeavors to place the difficulty upon a different basis—the peculiarly intractable spirit of the negroes located on the estate. This attempt is little better than a very poor specimen of poor pettifogging; for every individual cognizant of the facts, knows full well that the whole infamous responsibility rest upon the shoulders of this odious Baptist emissary. I knew him previously at Salt Savannah, in the parish of Vere; a poor man then, but now luxuriating upon abundant stipends from the blacks. Well may he, with his pious brethren, prove themselves, as Mr. Gurney observes, with high apparent approbation, “the untiring, unflinching friends of the negro.” Availing themselves of the disruption of the ties formerly subsisting between master and slave, of a favorable identification with the cause of African emancipation, and of the facilities offered by an influential profession, they have usurped that place in the affections and respect of the colored population, which belonged to the planter, and what is far worse, used the usurpation to their own selfish ends. If the real view of this great measure was to drive off the old stock of planters, and change Jamaica to a second St. Domingo, then have these busy emissaries been legitimately engaged. But I did not suppose the British parliament so recklessly philanthropic in its policy, as to seek the amelioration of the blacks at the hazard of destroying the sacred interests of its own worthy, industrious and enterprising subjects. Yet the class of men to whom I allude, well discerning the entire dependence of the planter upon the friendly disposition of the free blacks, have spared no pains to interrupt, embarrass, and as far as accomplishable, prevent a revival of kind intercourse between them. In their agency, and influence, I recognize the principal cause of all the real evils at present suffered by the colony. Remove them, and I will stipulate to bolt one of Mr. Gurney’s hugest abolition hopes. I cannot dismiss this topic without again expressing my regret that he should have sought his companionships and counsels among these noxious interlopers.

In St. Anne's, Mr. Gurney was greeted with some remarkable instances of the upward tendency of property. I believe I can tell a better tale than his, but I shall insist upon blowing mine up with an explanation. Some land belonging to Mr. Farquhar, that a few years since would not have brought 5s. per acre, has sold since the date of full freedom for \$12 per acre—TO FREE BLACKS! The only remaining fact worth noticing is, it was almost immediately after abandoned to the weeds, for which it seemed to indicate a preference! At Porus, however, he had afterwards an opportunity of witnessing, with his own eyes, the marvellous way in which the value of land had risen. Here he saw a worthless old estate, which had been by some lynx-eyed speculators purchased for a very trifle, and then readily retailed out to the ignorant, but greedy negroes, at the glorious advance of from \$13 to \$20 per acre! Why did he not improve so memorable a lesson upon the subject of augmented value? In the parish of Vere there was a tract of 36 acres, that had for many years been cultivated as a cane and corn-field; when freedom prevailed, the land was given up and sold by the owner for \$96 per acre. It could now be obtained, without doubt, for \$18 per acre!

Of all the misrepresentations in the volume, numerous as they are, this is the grossest, and at the same time the most harmless, because exposed to the easiest refutation. The purchasers at advanced prices have almost invariably been emancipated negroes, as to whose shrewdness and skill, in a land trade, with the practised wits of the white bargainer for a match, and the probabilities of a yet untried experiment for the basis of calculation, I leave the reader to his common sense. I insist, it is absurd for Mr. Gurney to mention instances of fraudulent practise upon African stupidity as credible and faithful data, upon which to declare an improved state of affairs. A fine property in Manchester, called "Green Vale," the property of Thomas C. Husbard, deceased, which would not have been sold before freedom for \$75,000, can now be purchased easily for \$20,000.

Before concluding this subject, I will avail myself of a morsel of information, lately communicated to me by a highly respectable gentleman from Jamaica. In June last, a magnificent sugar estate,

formerly yielding 180 hhds per annum, with a valuable pen, and an extensive wharf attached thereto, had so fallen into mismanagement that it but afforded 60 hogsheads; and although valued under slavery at \$60,000, was sold in chancery at \$18,000. Another proof of "the rise of landed property," he gave me in the instance of a fine coffee property, which was sold a few months since for \$9000, with this pleasing recollection in the mind of the proprietor, that he had been offered, but one month previous to full freedom, \$30,000 for the same estate ! Such facts need no comments.

"Brother Ward," of whom he speaks on the 104th page, another of his amiable ear-wiggers, not long ago, excited, or caused to be excited, an insurrectionary movement among the sympathetic negroes, and left them to suffer the consequences of his pernicious influence in severe punishments. I understand, he will soon be himself arraigned for his transgressions, in which case I wish for him no worse retribution than his deserts.

He alludes to a planter in St. Anne's, who cleared £3000 sterling by his last crop, and freely acknowledges, "that he cultivates his land more easily and cheaply than he did under slavery." It is rather singular that he forgot to mention his name. The suppression, however, has probably saved much annoying inquiry, and this remarkably fortunate individual has also been protected from the disagreeable effects of envy.

As to leasing estates, that is now a regular traffic, about as much so "as swapping horses." He mentions William and Mary Waters, and says, with no little exultation, that he, a blacksmith, and she, a pedlar, had saved £100 in about eight months. This will scarcely bear comparison with some instances in my own recollection. I have known a good blacksmith to obtain a salary of £80 or \$240 per annum, besides the privilege of house and grounds, and of doing extra jobs. I was acquainted with one, who also kept six horses, from which he realised even a greater profit than his salary.

He mentions Mr. Ricketts, a manager at "Barton's," who boasted largely of his profits and general well being under the auspices of freedom. I too know many employed in a like capacity, who deliver themselves uniformly of a like story, while their estates are going

swiftly and surely to decline. It requires but the expense of a breath or two for managers to give a favorable account of things, and I doubt not, scores can now be found, ready and willing to tickle the partialities, and accommodate the wishes of their abolition guests, by "a flattering tale" that costs so little. But repair to the proprietor, upon whose devoted head the bolt ultimately falls, and if he vows he is contented, take my word for it, he will do it with a sigh.

In speaking of Mr. George Marcy's pen, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, he conveys the idea that it is an extensive concern. In 1832 it had but 27 negroes upon it, being one of the very poor estates which make up this parish. Yet it seems that Mr. M. is among the *easily discouraged*. He complains much of the difficulty of obtaining labor. Now I submit it to the candor of Mr. G. if, in breeding farms, requiring fewer hands than any other class of properties, it is so difficult to procure them, what are we to imagine of the large sugar estates and coffee plantations?

On arriving at Manchester, he called upon an enlightened planter and attorney, having the care of twenty coffee estates, whom, not having the liberty to mention by name, he calls "A. B." At first, he was absent from home, but returned the next morning in company with "Dr. Davy, the Custos of Manchester and Dr. Stewart, a clergyman and stipendiary curate of the parish." I beg Mr. G.'s pardon, but I shrewdly suspect the existence of a very close relationship between Mr. A. B. and the Custos. It is certainly singular that the latter personage should have *done* all the information in reference to the prosperity of Mr. A. B.'s estates, while that anonymous worthy was standing silently by. Now, I will state a fact for Mr. A. B. (whom I recognise beyond mistake in his incognito): a property, for which he was concerned, called "Litchfield," which could in 1828 or 1830 have sold readily for £20 or 25,000, was purchased four or five months since for £3000! and of this paltry price, but one-third was money down!! Let it be borne in mind, also, that this was a beautiful coffee property, with extensive fields of guinea grass.

Mr. Gurney alludes to the decrease of crime. I answer to this, where you diminish the temptation, you diminish the transgressions,

in true proportion. Desolate, despoiled Jamaica, does not now offer the materials for plunder which she did in her time of prosperity and plenty. But the will is said to be as good as the deed, and the negroes show their good will by *prigging* every thing they can lay hands on. I can discern another reason for the apparent diminution of crime in the fact that the former facilities for detection are quite abolished under the prevailing system. The thieves now stalk abroad, the lords of the soil, acting only under the terrors of a police establishment, made up largely of themselves. But, will Mr. Gurney account for the scarcity of small stock, every where complained of? Who kill the cattle that are daily disappearing, without leave or licence, from the defenceless proprietors? And where are all the Island provisions?

Our easily deluded and ever mistaken author, on his 119th page, mounts a stone wall and comments upon that branch of labor, as displaying the advantages of freedom. "A. B." tells him, under slavery walling could not be done for less than \$13 per chain, whereas, since he has found himself able to do it at the rate of \$4. Whether his irresponsible "A. B." is a faithful accountant or not, I will not undertake to say; but on a property for which I was concerned in Manchester, *I built, in times of slavery, good stone wall at \$4½ per chain.* The distance to which the materials are to be carried, and the difficulties of transportation, vary the expense of construction so much that no fixed rule of price can possibly be established. Sometimes the cost might go up to \$24, and sometimes, perhaps, fall short of the low rate already mentioned.

He says, in the same paragraph, that the expense of picking coffee is reduced from £10 per tiece, the former cost, to £5 or 6. Why did he not honestly add the fact, already stated by me, that the negroes now will not pick at all unless they can pick ~~two~~ *three* bushels per day? The proprietors, I am well assured, would be willing to give a much greater sum than that, to secure the whole of their crop. He mentions, likewise, the decrease of servant's wages, from £16 and 25 to £8 and 10 per annum. In 1839, when freedom was in full blast, I could not get them under £16, and was sometimes obliged to pay £21. Many of them had grown up under my own

management, and could have had, I am able to assure myself, no recollections of me other than favorable.

Much of his information in this quarter, it appears, was given by Dr. Stewart, one of a class of men whom the active and adroit abolitionists take unceasing pains to deceive. An Episcopal clergyman of my own acquaintance used to insist upon improvements as wonderful as the doctor's, and I was at last forced to silence him by the last and certain resort of baffled truth, ocular demonstration.

I have at present as a guest in my house, a coffee planter, who says he would rather give £16 per acre for clearing and planting woodland, than have it done on the plan now in vogue. He was lately served one of the fashionable tricks of the day. Having employed a number of men in labor of this sort, they felled the wood for three weeks briskly enough, and then, *sans ceremonie*, deserted the job. The brush of course sprang up again shortly, and thus the land remains, useless for any other purpose than as a mute but mournful refutation of the ridiculous stories of Mr. Gurney. Let me not forget to mention, on this head, that the gentleman in question, profited from their valuable assistance to the extent of \$90 out of his pocket.

It is true, as Mr. Gurney says, the negroes work better for any one than an old slaveholder; and I am hence inclined to credit his account of the success achieved by the non-slaveholding gentlemen, mentioned on his 120th page. And why?—Simply because the amiable Baptists, who have assumed the task of dealing out their affections, have transferred them from the established planters, and, under hand and seal, conveyed them to those who are more fortunate in never having been able, under slavery, to hold a slave. The preference exhibited by the blacks is not attributable, generally, to vindictive recollections of their former masters. The old planters of Jamaica, in the aggregate, were distinguished, highly distinguished, for their kindness and lenity. And it is in vain to deny, that the alienated affections of the negroes is the result of a malignant and systematic effort upon the part of their *new proprietors*. But, are the old planters, then, to be entirely sacrificed by this measure, from which so much was promised *them* in its practical operations? So it would seem.

Mr. "W. D.," who figures on his 123d page, I salute as an old acquaintance, notwithstanding he is so snugly ensconced behind his initials. "He is very busily engaged in consulting the comforts of his people, and is selling little freeholds:" good, pious man! and "is treated to abundant crops"—lucky fellow! and "is growing rich on freedom." What would Mr. Gurney say, if I should announce to him, that this fatherly vender of "little freeholds" was only selling out to quit, and will, ere long, bid a sad adieu to the sphere of his present *benevolence* and *usefulness*!

In relation to the *accidental* burning of fifty acres of cane upon an estate called "The Seven Plantations," I must observe, it was a very suspicious accident; nay, there were shrewd men who thought it was an accident not without design. He says, by way of denoting the progress of improvement, that it now averages its eleven hogsheads per week, whereas, formerly, the maximum was six. Being well acquainted with sugar cultivation, I am at a serious loss to see how they could have managed, at the rate of six hogsheads per week, to take off a crop of 300 hogsheads, which must be finished by the end of June, commencing in the early part of December. Now I assert positively, that estate used to make thirty hogsheads per week, and during the crop, stop to plant canes, and attend to other work. Moreover, I was in Jamaica, when that *accidental* fire occurred, and have no hesitation to say, if the negroes had properly exerted themselves, they might have saved a vast amount of property, which was sacrificed to the flames.

In Vere he arrived at last, but his observations on that parish being unimportant and general, I shall dismiss them by correcting one mistake into which he has fallen. Local magistrates *cannot* sit in any causes where they are at all concerned. I should be sorry to think that in my native colony a corruption so monstrous and absurd had crept into its jurisprudence.

In perusing this work, I detected many errors which I deem too inconsiderable to notice in a pamphlet of the limits I have prescribed for this. The issues I have already raised are amply sufficient, as I conceive, to show the many grains of allowance with which this Journal is to be taken, prepared though it is by a man of distinguished ability and unquestioned candor. By relying unsuspect-

ingly upon the statements and suggestions of an interested and disingenuous class of men, he has been deluded into the publication of a book which abounds in mistakes and misrepresentations. Many of his details I have exposed as false, while *most* of his conclusions upon the general effects of the free system are unwarranted and incorrect.

Jamaica is *not* prosperous ; the negroes will *not* labor for their former masters upon fair terms ; the Baptists are *not* operating beneficially for the island ; the expenses of cultivation are *not* reduced ; the value of property is *not* advanced ; the comforts and advantages of the negro are *not* multiplied ; commerce is *not* reviving ; the prospect is *not* flattering ; nor is there now a single fair inducement to point emigration thither. Planter after planter has eagerly forced off his possessions during the last two years, and with the meagre proceeds gone to more genial and grateful latitudes. Others who have not yet succeeded in disposing of their sunken and desolate estates, are feverishly anxious to do so. Scarcely any, I will say not one, is sincerely satisfied with the present shape of affairs, saving and excepting those whose interests are like the vulture's, thriving on decay and destruction.

Many may try the old rule of whistling to keep their spirits up, but whistling wont keep expenses down ; and after having, for a while longer, sworn they were doing remarkably well, a frightful glimpse of approaching bankruptcy will make them "swear" off from the desperate business altogether. To one like myself, who is intimately and critically acquainted with every nook and corner of the colony, familiar with its minutest interests, and fully convinced, in his own mind, of the way, and the only way, of conducting a plantation successfully, such statements as make up Mr. Gurney's report of Jamaica, seem insolent as untrue. Few men after having been knocked down and robbed, can stretch their patience to hear the ruffian or his friends gravely make assurance that no possible harm has been done.

I have prepared the preceding pages, as intimated at the beginning, not from disrespect to Mr. Gurney, or from a miserable vanity to obtrude myself upon public notice. Of personal interest, I now

have none in the island, farther than a very natural wish that it may prosper and flourish. Against most of the men, whom, for the purposes of this pamphlet, and the rectification of distorted facts, I have been forced to notice harshly, I have but little objection, other than what an honest man may well feel to those who mislead ingenuous and important inquiry. Thus circumstanced, what other motive can I have, than to undeceive the public mind, and recapture, from the reckless champions of abolition, the stolen arms with which they would seek to defend and enforce their ruinous principles? To conclude, I express the opinion emphatically, as an old, experienced and extensive planter, that ABOLITION, WHETHER FROM INTRINSIC OR ADVENTITIOUS EVILS, HAS WROUGHT MOST DESTRUCTIVELY UPON JAMAICA.

GEORGE PRATT BURRELL,

58 Bank street, New York.

Reverend James Maccabee Hubb
with Compliments of
G. G. H.

THE
Late Insurrection in Jamaica,

By GARDINER GREENE HUBBARD, Esq.,

OF

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

From the New Englander for January, 1867.

ARTICLE III.—THE LATE INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA.

The West Indies, By Rev. Dr. UNDERHILL. London: 1862.

The Light and Shadows of Jamaica History. By Hon. RICHARD HILL. Kingston, Jamaica: 1859.

The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies. By W. G. SEWELL. New York: 1862.

The Present Crisis, and How to meet it. By Rev. Mr. PANTON. Jamaica: 1866.

Reflections on the Gordon Rebellion. By S. R. WARD. Jamaica: 1866.

Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission. London: 1866.

Jamaica Papers. Published by the Jamaica Committee. London: 1866.

Report of W. Morgan, Esq., on his Mission to Jamaica. 1866.

THE island of Jamaica is divided into three counties and thirty-two parishes. Each parish has a vestry and presiding officer, called the Custos. The vestry, which is composed of the leading men of the parish—members of the Established Church—perform certain ecclesiastical duties, and hold courts for the trial of minor civil and criminal causes. Petty officers of government, and volunteer companies of soldiers, are maintained in each parish, who are invariably colored men.

The parish of St. Thomas, in the east, was the seat of the disturbance of October, 1865. The most fertile and densely populated portion of this parish is the valley of the Plantain Garden River. Here are the richest lands and largest sugar estates, the smallest number of freeholders, and the most degraded population in the island. The Court House, a large stone building with a wooden roof, stood on one side of the market place at Morant Bay, on a river of that name, about thirty-two miles from Kingston.

In the autumn of 1865 writs of ejectment were served on squatters at Stony Gut, a village of blacks, a few miles from the Court House. Paul Bogle, a small freeholder, a black man of note in his little circle, and a minister of the native Baptist Church, determined to resist the officers. For this purpose he organized a small company of laborers from the neighboring estates, and officered them by freeholders. At a court held on Saturday, the seventh of October, some disturbance arose. A man was arrested, and subsequently rescued from the police, who were beaten, and forced to retreat. The following Monday the police went to arrest the rioters, but were again attacked and repulsed. Three of their number were made prisoners, and released upon taking the oath to "join their color, and cleave to the blacks." Threats were uttered by the rioters of their intention of going to the Bay to kill all the white men and all the blacks who would not join them. When the Custos, Baron Ketelhodt, heard of this, he ordered a volunteer company to be present at the vestry the following day, and sent to Governor Eyre for troops.

On the 11th of October the vestry assembled at the Court House, and proceeded with their regular business for several hours without interruption. Some of the members, anticipating no disturbance, had left for home, when, at three o'clock in the afternoon, an alarm was given that a crowd of negroes were coming. It was a mob of two or three hundred men, women, and children armed with clubs, stones, and machettes—an implement resembling a cutlass, and used in cutting canes. They approached the Court House and commenced an attack by throwing stones. The soldiers who were stationed around the building fired a volley and killed several persons, when the mob retreated, but seeing the troops defenseless rushed in and overpowered them before they could reload. The troops broke; a few retreated into the Court House—the rest were lost in the crowd. A fight then commenced, which lasted several hours. Suddenly a cry was heard, "Go and fetch fire! Burn the brutes out! If we don't we will not manage the volunteers and Buckra." A school-house near by was fired—the flames spread to the roof of the Court House. The inmates fled; one or two made their escape, but the greater portion

were overtaken by the mob, and brutally beaten until long after life was extinct. The next morning a crowd of negroes were gathered about the physician, Dr. Major, who was caring for their wounded, when an armed cutter, with 100 regulars from Kingston, appeared in sight. The terrified negroes fled, leaving the doctor the only man on the shore to receive the troops. Most of the negroes had returned to their homes, but some had fled eastward, where they were joined by others from the estates. They plundered the houses of planters, broke open stores, stole property of every description, drank all the rum they could find, and killed a few white planters who were especially hated by their laborers. The disturbance lasted three or four days, the rioters moving slowly eastward from Morant Bay to Elmwood, a distance of thirty miles. They did not spread westward, but confined their fury to the sugar estates on and near the Plantain Garden River District. Not a woman or child was injured, nor a single house burned. The same day Governor Eyre received information of the massacre. He immediately ordered troops by water to Port Antonio, and sent others across the mountains to hem in the insurgents at the various gaps and passes. These movements were well planned and promptly executed. No resistance was anywhere offered to the soldiers. The frightened multitude fled at their approach; yet, as soon as the troops arrived at their several stations, they commenced indiscriminately whipping and killing men and women, burning houses, ravaging the country, sometimes under the direction of courts martial, often without. The inhabitants of the island, colored as well as white, terrified lest the insurrection should spread over the island, urged on the soldiers in their work of destruction until their barbarity and inhumanity exceeded that of the negro mob. Governor Eyre, though he had no direct control over the troops, advised their movements, and knew and approved of their operations. The cooler judgment of those removed from the scene of action is that the soldiers and police, with such aid as would have been rendered, could have repressed the revolt, arrested the ringleaders, and delivered them to the proper tribunal for trial and punishment. The execution of justice by the ordinary civil tribunals would have made a more powerful impression on the negro than the inhuman treatment he received, and the cruelties he witness-

ed, betraying as they did the terror of the white man.* But this is not the view of the people of Jamaica, either then or now.

* A stranger, unacquainted with life in Jamaica, does not appreciate the immense disproportion of the white to the black population;—the distance which separates one family from another, and the insufficiency of the military force for their protection. He cannot understand the terror which made the people think measures prompt and energetic, which were only cruel and barbarous. The writer of this Article rode with his party for some weeks daily among the St. Andrews mountains, only three or four months after the insurrection. The women and children watched for our coming, and at the first sound of approaching horses rushed to the roadside to exchange a pleasant greeting. “Good day, massa! Good morning, sweet missus,” were their salutations, while they dropped at the same time a short, quick, spasmodic little courtesy, and looked up with glad faces, and a brilliant display of ivories. We traveled through the mountains of Port Royal, and the high lands of St. Ann’s. Here we missed the welcome of familiar faces, though our greeting was always cordially and cheerfully answered. We entered the houses, begged a drink of cocoanut water, or a sweet orange, inquired into the mysteries of cassava bread making; and examined into the simple and homely domestic arrangements. So on leaving Kingston for Morant Bay, and driving along the sea-coast, we noticed no especial difference in the appearance of the people until we crossed the Yallahs, a river a few miles west of the Morant. Here we were struck at once by the scowling face, the sullen, averted look, or the angry, defiant gaze of the women; we realized that we were among those who had suffered bitter wrongs, who had neither forgotten nor forgiven injustice and cruelty, and whose muttered words seemed to threaten vengeance on every white man and woman. We visited also the houses of the planters in the neighborhood which had been pillaged by a furious mob, and to which the owners had just dared to return. We saw marks of the machette on the windows, walls, and furniture. We heard accounts from the planters of their escape in the darkness, while the yells and shouts of the savages sounded but a few yards from their flying footsteps;—of mothers, with young infants and sick children, spending days and nights in the bush, in heavy rains, without food, not knowing where to seek for shelter. We spent several days with one who was himself in the Court House at the time of the attack and massacre, and whose life was spared because he was a surgeon and physician, and the blacks had need of him. The horrors of that scene, and the terrors of the few succeeding days we would not repeat if we could. It is sufficient that we hardly needed the warning not to drive out far after dark, and certainly, as we recrossed the Yallahs, it was with a feeling of relief and satisfaction that made us somewhat appreciate the feelings of fathers, mothers, and children flying in scattered groups for their lives but a few months before. We would not be understood to approve the measures used in quelling the insurrection. Nothing but the wildest terror can explain the wholesale and indiscriminate hanging and shooting. No wonder that we feared these dark, revengeful faces. No wonder that the memory of houses burned, husbands and sons murdered, and wives and daughters cruelly whipped, should still rankle in their hearts, and look out of their eyes. Their huts have been rebuilt, but in their midst are the graves into which hundreds of their kindred were thrown, heaped high by the whites as a warning to them and their descendants.

THE CASE OF GEORGE W. GORDON.

George W. Gordon, whose trial and execution excite so much interest in this country and in England, was a colored man,—his father a Scotchman, overseer of an estate in the times of slavery, his mother a colored woman. He had a good education, considerable ability, but was a demagogue and reformer by nature. He was a Justice of the Peace and member of the vestry of St. Thomas. Two or three years ago he urged upon that body the amelioration of the condition of the poor and prisoners of the parish, but without success; his appeal to the Governor was rejected, and he himself removed from office. He then carried his complaint to the Colonial Secretary of England, where it was sustained, and the needed change ordered, but he was not reinstated in his offices.* He owned several estates, one in the Plantain Garden River District, but was insolvent for a very large amount, “his admitted liabilities being over £35,000.” He was a member of the Assembly, and belonged to the Native Baptist Church; preached frequently in their meeting-houses, harangued the negroes on political subjects, and by this course rendered himself unpopular with the whites. His counting room was in Kingston, the only place in the county which was not under martial law. He was believed to have instigated the rebellion, but after he heard of this charge, though urged by his friends to escape, surrendered himself to Governor Eyre. On Friday, nine days after the massacre, and when the rebellion was entirely suppressed, he was sent to Morant Bay,—tried on Saturday and hung on

* The feelings that existed between Gordon and Governor Eyre may be understood by the following note from the *Daily News* of Sept. 8th:—

“St. Andrews, Oct. 8th, 1864.

“On the last occasion, Mr. G. W. Gordon replied, declining the invitation of His Excellency, then Lieut.-Governor. Mr. Gordon did not expect to be further troubled. The Governor must remember that he untruthfully charged Mr. G. W. Gordon with being guilty of willful and deliberate misrepresentation, which charge has never been purged. Does His Excellency think Mr. Gordon is so mean spirited as ever to eat with a man who has thus acted towards him, without having first obtained an explanation. Mr. Gordon considers his invitation for dinner to be a breach of the conventional rules of good society, and he therefore declines it.”

Monday. The Court Martial consisted of two second lieutenants in the navy, and an ensign of the army. His counsel was denied access to him, and a letter of advice, written by his counsel, was detained by the General in command. The evidence introduced was entirely insufficient to have convicted him before any civil or military tribunal—it was hardly sufficient to justify his apprehension for trial; but his death was deemed necessary to strike terror into the negro, and give confidence to the white man. It was shown on his trial that he had a lawsuit with the Custos, with whom he was not on friendly terms. That he invariably attended the vestry-meetings—the one at which the riot occurred being the only one from which he had been absent. Gordon excused his absence on the ground of sickness, and referred to his physician; but Dr. Major was “not at the time either in Court, nor on the Bay,” and was not summoned. Conflicting evidence was offered as to his speeches made at public meetings called to petition the Queen for a redress of the wrongs of the negro, held several months before. The Commission have found “that the evidence, oral and documentary, was wholly insufficient to establish the charges upon which the prisoner took his trial,” and that “there was not any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay, or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the government.” The Commission also find the evidence “decisive as to the existence of such a conspiracy.” Governor Eyre, General O’Connor, and General Nelson knew and approved of the trial and execution. Notwithstanding this, however, the general belief in Jamaica, of both friends and enemies of Gordon, is that he was cognizant of an intended outbreak.

As soon as news of the insurrection was received in England, deputations from The Friends, and the Jamaica Committee, and a Royal Commission appointed by the Queen were sent to Jamaica “to make full and impartial inquiry into the origin, nature, and circumstances of the disturbances, and with respect to the measures adopted in the course of their suppression.”

They have returned and made their reports. The Ministry have mildly censured Governor Eyre and removed him from office. The Jamaica Committee have instituted legal proceed-

ings against him for murder; large sums have been contributed both for the prosecution of the trial and the defense of Governor Eyre. On the one side are John Stuart Mill, Mr. Bright—and those who supported us in our struggle with slavery; on the other—Carlyle, Tennyson, Kingsley, Ruskin, and our opponents in the war. The Secretaries of the past and present English Ministry take no active part, though sympathizing strongly with the accused.

Governor Eyre stands charged with murder, but it must be confessed that he acted not on his own responsibility, but in his entire course followed the advice of the Executive Council of the Island, and the proceedings were known and approved, with very few exceptions, by both the white and colored population, and ratified by the Assembly. His acts were but the expression of the public feeling of the ruling class in Jamaica—the summing up of long years of injustice and cruelty, against which the blacks at last arose in rebellion and insurrection.

SLAVERY IN JAMAICA

The Jamaica slaves were overworked and cruelly treated. Statistics show that for many years prior to the abolition of the slave trade, in 1807, nine thousand slaves were annually imported to repair the waste of human life: while, since emancipation, the freedmen have rapidly increased. The laws prohibited the spiritual and mental education of the slaves. The Sabbath was the market day and a holiday. Marriage was forbidden. Each slave had his little patch of ground, for the cultivation of which he was allowed every other Saturday, and from which he was obliged to derive his entire support. He received two suits of clothes a year, and medical attendance in sickness.

uring the time of slavery the English government, by a heavy differential duty imposed upon foreign sugars and coffee, protected the products of Jamaica, and gave them the monopoly of the English market; but, a few years after emancipation, finding that these could be raised at less cost by slave than by free labor, she changed her policy to one of free trade. The discriminating duty in favor of sugar, the product of free labor, was gradually reduced until all sugars paid the

same duty. The price was consequently reduced one-half to the English consumer, and the profits of the planter were greatly diminished. But even before this change Jamaica had begun to decline. The abolition of the slave trade had cut off her supply of laborers; her rich lands were exhausted; her exports steadily decreased; her laboring population was wasting away; many plantations were abandoned; and the whole Island was heavily mortgaged to English creditors.

Then came the act of emancipation with its apprenticeship system, intended as a preparation for freedom and the giving of full liberty to the apprentice.

In the act of emancipation the rights of the planter to property in his slave was recognized, and £6,000,000 were paid for three hundred and eleven thousand slaves, or nineteen pounds for each slave,—not half their market value. The greater part of this sum was retained in England in payment of debts, and the Jamaica planter was left without laborers, with impoverished lands, with diminished profits, and estates encumbered to their full value. The slaves were freed in opposition to the wishes of their masters, who strove by every means in their power to retain them in a state of bondage. By the act of emancipation the hours of labor were limited to eight a day; but the planters required of the freedmen the same amount of work as that exacted of the slave in fifteen hours, and offered him only half the price paid for a hired slave. Such a course produced great dissatisfaction, and the negroes refused to work. In order to force them to work on the planters' own terms, a series of laws was passed, many of them most severe and cruel. Among them was the Ejectment act, by which planters could eject the negroes at a weeks' notice from the homes in which they had been born, root up their provision grounds, and cut down their fruit trees, and a police law under which they might be arrested for trespass if they remained an hour after the expiration of the weeks' notice; a heavy stamp duty upon the transfer of small parcels of land; an import duty on corn food, largely used by the slaves, which was raised from three pence to three shillings a barrel; an increased duty upon shingles for their huts, while on staves and hoops for sugar hogsheads it was reduced; a discriminating tax imposed on sugar and coffee unfavorable to

the small negro grower and favorable to the large producer ; a law requiring a license from the vestry to sell these articles at retail, while no license was required for selling at whole-sale ; and others of a similar character, some of which were so barbarous that they were disallowed by parliament.

Many of the freedmen returned for a while to work, but the ill-treatment received caused them again to leave the estates and squat upon abandoned plantations. The planters refused to sell or lease the land except at exorbitant prices, and it is only as estates have been thrown into market by creditors and sold in small parcels, that the negroes have been able to purchase the little plats which they now cultivate all over the Island.

RELIGION.

The established Church is maintained at a great expense, \$160,000 a year being appropriated for its support. This is divided among Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Rectors, and Curates, the lowest salary amounting to \$1,700 a year—and this while the daily wages of their congregations do not average over twenty cents ! There are churches of other denominations throughout the Island ; the Baptists predominating. For many years after emancipation, great efforts were made by the English Missionary Societies for the evangelization of the negroes. For a while the work seemed to prosper—churches were built and money contributed ; as the societies became self-supporting, foreign help was withdrawn—but of late years the attendance has greatly fallen off and contributions have diminished. In many parts the Baptist Churches are under the care of native preachers, who are often men of bad immoral character, or, at best, but blind leaders of the blind. Revivals, as they are called, were of frequent occurrence, the negroes resorting in large numbers to some station and holding a series of gatherings somewhat of the nature of Camp Meetings. Good results apparently followed, and many were added to the church, but as the control of the Missionary was withdrawn, and his influence lessened, the charge of these meetings passed into lay hands. The negroes remained, at times for weeks together, listening to the preaching, and praying, singing, dancing,

stealing the crops from far and near, and only dispersing when there was nothing left to steal. There is probably no Protestant state of the same population with more preachers or so large a proportion of church members, and yet ignorance, lying, thieving, and immorality prevail to an alarming extent. It is not that gospel truth is inadequate, but it is the manner in which the truth is proclaimed that is at fault. A belief in Obeahism, brought by the slaves from Africa, is on the increase. The Governor, in a message to the Assembly in 1858, said, "In many of the country districts the people are abandoned to the spells and debasing influences of Obeahism and Myalism." Charms are frequently attached to cabins and churches to protect them from the evil influences of the Obeah; and pulpits of the native Baptist churches have been removed to search underneath for the Obeah, who was supposed to have checked the progress of the revival.

The Obeah man was believed to be invulnerable. To show the absurdity of this belief, Col. Hobbs of the British army, during the insurrection, ordered an Obeah man to be set up as a mark upon a hill, and a volley to be fired at him from an opposite height. The commission report that "he was visible from the surrounding heights, where many of the natives were concealed," and add, "the effect was very good."

EDUCATION.

No system of education has ever been adopted. Immediately after emancipation, the freedmen were eager to learn. Schoolhouses were built and well filled, and the friends of the negro in England were full of hope for the future. But it was only for a time. The teachers were generally ignorant, and the children, though learning quickly, forgot as readily.

The present condition of the schools is shown by the report of the inspector for 1864. One-sixth of the children attend school, \$16,000 a year being appropriated by the government for their support, or about fifteen cents for each child. "Most of the teachers never entertained the idea of intellectual culture, or of training the minds of their pupils. Two-thirds of

these teachers have never received the slightest preparation for their work, and are totally incompetent to discharge aright the duties committed to them. The teachers are generally colored, and are often of bad character."

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NEGRO.

The negro buys, hires, or squats upon a parcel of ground, of three or four acres, near a running stream, builds a thatched hut of one, two, or three rooms, usually with no floor but the earth, and without windows or chimney. The furniture corresponds to the house. Dr. Underhill estimates the average value of house and furniture at \$80, but this estimate is considered much too high. The little plot of ground yields all he needs for food, and the surplus borne on the heads of the women to market, or a few days' work on a neighboring plantation, supplies his scanty clothing. Marriage is still the exception—probably less than half of the children are born in wedlock. Petty thefts are so common and annoying, that few gentlemen attempt to raise fruits, vegetables, or poultry, for their own tables, but are limited to the few articles which they purchase of the negro. Crimes of a greater magnitude are rare. The laws of Jamaica give the negro, with few exceptions, the right of voting, and of being elected to the highest offices in the state, but the negro has been too ignorant to value this franchise, and Gov. Eyre reports that "representation exists only in name, for the whole forty-seven members of the Assembly were returned by one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven votes, out of a population of 436,000." If colored members were elected, they were generally the lowest demagogues, who purchased their seats by bribery, and used them only for their own advantage and that of the upper classes. Unlimited suffrage has proved a failure in Jamaica. It has raised only the most depraved to places of trust. Mr. Morgan, an eminent solicitor of Birmingham, one of the deputation sent by the Baptist Missionary Society to Jamaica, and a strong friend of the negro, "deplores the jobbery which has made it necessary to destroy the oldest of the representative systems of government, except England."

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF NEGROES.

1st. Those working regularly on the estates, living and depending on them for support.

2d. Those having no regular employment.

3d. Those who own and live upon their small farms.

The first class is found only in those portions of the islands where sugar estates are still worked—they live to a great extent in barracks, men and women herding together. They are extremely ignorant and degraded, retaining the vices of slavery, without gaining the virtues of freedom.

The second class have thrown off their dependence on the estates, but are more lazy than either of the other classes—not being obliged to work with the first, nor stimulated to labor with the third; owning no land, they are shiftless and improvident, and paying their rent irregularly or not at all, they are forced to wander from place to place, working occasionally, and stealing when too lazy to work. They are a curse to the land, and dangerous alike to white and black. Unless this system of petty thieving can be checked, the industrious will be discouraged, and idleness and profligacy must increase.

The third class are the most numerous—nearly three-quarters of the whole black population. Their small farms are scattered all over the island, excepting among the large sugar estates. They raise a little sugar, coffee, and pimento, and own many small sugar mills. Their cabins are more comfortable, the marriage relation is more respected, thefts and petty vices are less frequent, they wish to educate their children, and have some desire to improve their condition in life. They are the small farmers, and upon their elevation the island must depend for its future wealth and prosperity. They have elevated themselves in spite of unfavorable laws and influences, receiving aid from the Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian Missionaries, many of whom have labored with great fidelity and devotion for the welfare of the people.

The first class, we have said, live upon the sugar estates. These estates are managed by attorneys or overseers for absentee proprietors. The laborers are overworked and ill

paid—the wages are often withheld, or paid but in part, large deductions being made for alleged unfaithfulness. If the negro appeals to the court for justice, the judges themselves are planters or overseers, and may in the next case change places with the defendant. The Royal Commission reports that “these courts are additional incentives to the violation of the law from the want of confidence felt in them.” It was on these estates that the insurrection commenced and spread, and it was these men and women, degraded and brutalized by neglect and oppression, whose savage nature broke out into acts of violence, plunder, and bloodshed.

In 1861, there were 13,816 whites, 346,374 blacks, 81,074 colored; total, 441,261, i. e., thirty-two blacks to every white. The influence of the whites upon the blacks has consequently been small, and they are far inferior to the negroes of our Southern States. The blacks are envious of the colored people, and the colored people of the whites.

The colored population steadily increased even while the blacks and whites were diminishing. Many of the offices of government and of the judiciary are filled by them, they are heard in the pulpit and at the bar, are consulted as physicians and surgeons. Among the most celebrated and talented men of Jamaica are the Hon. Richard Hill; Hon. P. Moncrief, Judge of the highest Court; Hon. E. Jordan, C. B., Governor's Secretary and Mayor of Kingston; Hon. A. Hyslop, Attorney-General and Member of the Executive Council; and Dr. Scott, of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburg; all of whom are colored gentlemen. In many families of the highest respectability the master of the house is white, the wife colored, and many of the colored ladies are highly accomplished and fitted to adorn any station.

CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION.

Four or five years ago a general revival occurred during the planting season. The educated and pious ministers refused to attend and advised the members of their churches not to be present. Many, therefore, left the church, and gave themselves up for weeks together to the religious excitement. The cultivation of the field was abandoned; and a long drought occurring just at that time, want and distress were the result.

At the same time the attention of the negroes was called to the oppression under which they suffered by a series of what were called "Underhill Meetings." In 1865, Dr. Underhill had addressed a letter to the Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, in which he had set forth the grievances of the negro. This letter was sent back to Gov. Eyre, and by him copies were forwarded to the Custodes of the various parishes. Wherever this letter was read and discussed at the different vestry meetings by the planters assembled, Dr. Underhill's statements were denied, or if the sufferings of the negro were admitted, they were attributed solely to his laziness and his refusal to work for wages. In St. Ann's the people sent a petition to the "Missus Queen" herself, complaining of their wrongs, and asking redress. In reply they were counseled to industry, to submission to the planters, and loyalty to the government. This answer was read with comments from the pulpits, and printed and posted generally throughout the parish. Such being the only results of the efforts made to obtain redress, meetings were called by Mr. Gordon and others, who espoused the cause of the blacks, to consider this answer and advice. These meetings were attended by excited crowds who had never been taught to respect the laws, and a strong feeling of discontent and disregard of authority manifested itself and gradually grew. In such a state of excitement and disaffection, it needed but a spark to kindle a general insurrection. That spark was the attempt to eject negroes from lands upon which they had squatted; but the injustice of the laws, the insufficiency and inefficiency of all efforts to educate and christianize the blacks, and the spirit of distrust and hatred existing between employer and employed, had long been preparing the people for this final outbreak.

The whites knowing the deep grievances of the negro, his secretive disposition, his excitable and impulsive nature, the fewness of their own number, and their defenseless condition, might well fear a general uprising and massacre, which only the most prompt and efficient measures could hope to check. In such peril, cowardice was mistaken for boldness, cruelty for bravery, and revenge for justice.

The act of emancipation was fatally defective towards the

slaves, in nominally [freeing them, but leaving them, without protection, to the care of their former masters. The English Government has made but little inquiry into the affairs of the island—has refused to receive petitions from the negroes, or referred the petitioners for justice to the very persons of whose injustice they complained.

The Established Church, with large funds at its disposal, and eighty ministers, has accomplished but little in the christianizing of the people. Some of its ministers are at the same time planters, and against them the fury and hatred of the mob were especially directed. The native Baptist Church furnished the leaders and inciters of the insurrection.

Jamaica, the Queen of the Antilles, is about 140 miles long by 40 broad. For richness of soil, for beauty of scenery, for the agreeable temperature of its climate, and the healthfulness of most parts of the island, it is unsurpassed. It produces readily almost every product of the torrid and temperate zones, it yields two crops a year of most of our annual plants, and many of its trees bear at the same time the bud, blossom, and ripe fruit. Manure is never used, and some of the sugar and coffee plantations have for over a hundred years annually yielded their crops without any return to the soil.

Yet, with all these advantages, Jamaica abounds with “ruinate estates” and abandoned “great houses.” Her exports have decreased four-fifths, her white population is diminishing, theft and other crimes increasing, attendance on church and school falling off, the superstitious and idolatrous practices of Africa spreading, and “poor Jamaica” seems given up by her discouraged inhabitants to utter ruin. A ray of hope comes to them now in the change of government, which has just been instituted. The Assembly, the originator of the unjust laws, which were injurious alike to white and black, soon after the insurrection, by an act of political suicide, surrendered their powers and charter to the British Government. This surrender was accepted by Parliament, and Jamaica is now a Crown Colony, with a Governor and Council appointed by the Queen, who have almost despotic power, subject only to appeal to the Colonial Secretary and Parliament. The new Governor, Sir J. Grant, who has just arrived in the Island, and

taken the reins of government, has a difficult task to perform, but if he is successful, Jamaica will again become the seat of wealth and power.

It is now about thirty years since the British Government abolished slavery throughout its dominions. Of the 700,000 slaves then enfranchised, more than one-half were owned in Jamaica. The most of those who were in bondage have passed away, and a new generation has grown up. Sufficient time has therefore elapsed to enable us to form a just estimate of the effects of emancipation on the various classes of inhabitants, and on the industry and commerce of the island.

Many honest observers have given their views on the subject, who differ as widely as their points of observation and the characteristics of their minds. Captain Hunt, a prominent member of the Anthropological Society of London, sees in the freedman of Jamaica a proof of the impossibility of educating and elevating the race. Mr. Sewell of New York, who visited the island in 1859, though not taking the extreme view of Captain Hunt, reports the negro as hopelessly lazy, and that licentiousness, theft, lying, and drunkenness everywhere prevail.

On the other hand, Dr. Underhill, of the Baptist Missionary Society, who visited the island two years later, regards the present condition of the negro as satisfactory evidence of his capacity to rise morally, mentally, and physically. Mr. Morgan, the "Friends," and the writers in the Anti-Slavery Society Reporter of London, strongly corroborate his views. This testimony, which at first sight seems so conflicting, may perhaps on examination be reconciled. Captain Hunt and Mr. Sewell look only at the present condition of the negro, forgetting his antecedents and the state of extreme degradation from which he has risen. Dr. Underhill not only recalls his past history, his sufferings in bondage, but shows that, without aid or help from the white man, and in spite of oppression and injustice, the freedmen have struggled to a point which is low enough indeed, but one which is far above the condition of the slave.

"Poor Jamaica!" Her island princes are ruined, her "great houses" are deserted, her immense estates are broken up, her exports are greatly diminished, her warehouses are vacant. The descendants of those who rode through her streets, their

horses shod with silver, walk through the land in poverty. Many of her largest "sugar works" are abandoned, and the busy slave is superseded by the idle vagabond !

But there is another side to the picture. The immense estates are broken up, but little farms are cultivated by free-men ; the great houses are abandoned, but the slave barracks, where men and women herded together, have given place to thatched cottages, which husband and wife and children call home. The exports of sugar and coffee grown by rich planters are diminished, but many a little mill worked by hand turns out its hogshead of sugar ;—and many a barrel of coffee, with baskets of oranges and bananas, and bags of cocoa gathered by wife and children, find their way to market. The imports for home consumption too are increased. Where once large cargoes of corn meal, the principal food of the slave, were imported, ship loads of salt fish, butter, lard, gay cottons and woollens, and "yankee notions," are eagerly purchased by negro customers. Where, in times of slavery, the Sabbath was the legal market day, and all religious teaching forbidden, now are gathered large congregations, attentive, interested, and well dressed.

We do not deny the laziness and profligacy of the negro, but we believe that other influences may stimulate him to industry and virtue besides the lash and branding iron. We do not deny his propensity to lie and steal, but consider these rather as faults common to our fallen humanity, unchecked by religious teaching, and encouraged by fear and cruelty. Slavery and not emancipation is responsible for the present degraded condition of the negro ; while to the negro himself, and the faithful efforts of the missionary, belong the credit of his improvement and his efforts for further advancement.

The ruin of Jamaica has been caused not by the freeing of the slave, but by the efforts on the part of the planter to retain the freedmen in ignorance and servitude, to withhold the rights and privileges of freedom, and the neglect on the part of the government to protect and support the freedmen in their rights. The history of Jamaica plainly teaches that the slaveholder is not a safe custodian of the rights of freedmen.

dup

JAMAICA :

27

ITS

PAST AND PRESENT STATE.

BY JAMES M. PHILLIPPO,

OF SPANISH TOWN, JAMAICA, TWENTY YEARS A BAPTIST MISSIONARY
IN THAT ISLAND.

Philadelphia:

JAMES M. CAMPBELL & CO., 98 CHESTNUT ST.

SAXTON & MILES, 205 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.





HEATHEN PRACTICES AT FUNERALS.

J A M A I C A :

4

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1843.

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P R E F A C E.

THE author of the following pages, having been incapacitated for more active labours by protracted personal affliction, formed the resolution of employing the leisure which was afforded him in writing a work on JAMAICA, which he ventures to hope will in some measure supply a desideratum long felt and acknowledged by the conductors and supporters of our various missionary societies.

None but the invalided missionary knows the bitterness of those feelings which fill the heart, when compelled by sickness to leave behind him his scene of arduous but happy toil, and to revisit his native shores under circumstances which preclude the possibility of engaging in active exertion for the promotion of that cause to which he has consecrated his life. In these feelings, which not all the sympathy and kindness of friends can wholly remove, the writer has largely shared. But should it be found that the present effort of his pen has in some measure supplied that "lack of service" which he hoped to have otherwise rendered, not only will the severity of the trial be greatly alleviated, but throughout his future days it will prove a source of high and joyous satisfaction.

Though the manner in which he has accomplished his object will of course be variously estimated, he can most conscientiously affirm, that in all his statements he has at least endeavoured to be scrupulously correct, and to give a faithful representation of Jamaica as it *was*, and Jamaica as it *is*. Having been a resident on the island since the year 1823, he has had extended opportunities of acquainting himself with it. And though, with regard to its past history, and present commercial condition, as well as some other particulars, he has been compelled to avail himself of the labours of the historian, yet the greater portion is the result of his own observation and experience. He cannot but indulge the hope that the facts narrated, illustrative of the fervent piety, growing intelligence, and rapidly improving temporal circumstances of those who but a few years since not only tasted the "wormwood and the gall" of slavery, but who, with regard to their spiritual condition, were "sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death," will strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those Christian philanthropists to whose benevolent and unceasing efforts the mighty change is, under God, to be attributed. Nor does he feel willing to repress the delightful anticipation, that by these pages feelings may be awakened which shall ultimately contribute to hasten the arrival of the period when not only shall the blighting curse of slavery pass away from every land, but "when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea."

It may possibly be thought by some that too many anecdotes have been introduced, as well as too liberal a use made of the peculiarities of the negro dialect. If any apology is required, the author begs to state that he has been governed in this particular not so much by his own predilections and tastes as by the advice of valued friends, who judged that such a method of illustrating the various topics to which attention is directed would be more likely than any other to interest and benefit a large class of his readers—an object at which he considered himself bound to aim.

It will not escape observation that prominence has been given to the moral and religious condition of the black and coloured population, and to the encouraging results of missionary efforts among them.

To preserve the fidelity of an historical record, the author has necessarily reverted to circumstances of a painful as well as a pleasing character; and if in so doing he has reflected upon what he regards as existing evils, it has been from a consciousness of

duty, as it is by such representations that manners and customs are reformed. Most truly can he affirm that he cherishes no improper feeling towards the higher classes of the inhabitants of Jamaica; on the contrary, it is the most sincere desire of his heart that her governors, senators, judges, and magistrates may be men eminent for piety and equity—that the higher classes of her population, as well as her peasantry, may be truly good, industrious, and happy—that she, as a country, may excel in all that is great, and noble, and distinguished—that she may ever remain connected with Britain, not only politically, but by ties of the warmest affection and holiest sympathies, cemented by the most sacred bonds that can hold society together.

As a matter of necessity, the writer is more intimately acquainted with the progress of his own denomination than with that of any other, and consequently has given to it a more full and circumstantial account. Had it been practicable, it would have afforded him the sincerest pleasure to have embodied in his work a comprehensive statement of the successes and encouragements of those honoured brethren of other denominations whose labours have been signally owned and blessed. It is a deficiency which he sincerely regrets. But having left the island without any intention of becoming an author, and, perhaps, with a too confident expectation of being engaged in more active service during his sojourn in his native land, he did not avail himself of those sources of information which would have been open to him, had he formed the resolution of writing at an earlier period; and since thus engaged he has been prevented by a variety of circumstances from obtaining that correct statistical information which was requisite to enable him to fulfil his first intention. To these causes alone is the omission to be attributed. Far from him be that attachment to a party which would lead him to regard with feelings of jealousy or indifference the labours of those whom, though under another name, he regards as brethren, and honours as the servants of Christ. He can truly say, “Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;” and ardently does he long for the arrival of the day which is destined to witness that delightful union of soul and effort which constituted the burden of his prayer who is “head over all things to the church.” “That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.”*

Proposals for the establishment of a college on liberal and comprehensive principles, but designed especially for the education of the descendants of Africa in the higher branches of learning and science, will be found as an appendix, to which the particular attention of the reader is invited.

The volume being already increased far beyond its originally intended size, in addition to the impossibility of obtaining all the statistics necessary for the purpose, the author has not added the sketch of missionary stations announced in the prospectus. The omission, however, he flatters himself will not be regarded as important, inasmuch as it may easily be supplied by individual reference to the publications of each Society.

As a Christian missionary, whose life has been spent, not in learned seclusion, but in the duties and incessant labours of his office, the author makes no pretensions to literary excellence. His aim has been to produce a work which might be interesting and useful, even without those embellishments of diction which, though ever pleasing, are not always necessary. As it is, he commends his volume to the attention of the churches and the blessing of Almighty God, as an humble contribution to the glory of Him in whose work he desires “to spend and be spent,” and who, in the days of his flesh, graciously condescended to accept the services of her who “did what she could.”

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1843.

* John, xvii. 21.

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JAMAICA:

ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIANITY.

Its nature—Adaptation to the wants and circumstances of the World—Its designs—Its effects—The future glory of the Church—Particular instrumentality to be employed—Former neglect of the Church—Subsequent activity—First Missionary Society—Difficulties and Discouragements—Future and increasing Success.

CHRISTIANITY is a system of the most pure and exalted philanthropy. The field which it is designed to occupy "is the world," and its object the salvation of the whole human race, without any distinction of country, condition, or character. Revelation looks with the same benign aspect on the sun-burnt negro as on the inhabitant of a more temperate clime—to the bond as to the free—to the savage as to the philosopher; all are alike the offspring of the same common parent, involved in the consequences of the same apostacy, heirs of the same immortal destiny, and alike capable of being restored to the happiness and prerogatives of their exalted nature. "God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth." "Darkness has covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." And in that great day, when the purposes of God shall have received their full accomplishment, "a multitude which no man can number, out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue," shall join in the eternal jubilee of the redeemed from amongst men. "They shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham, and with Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God." But, as there is no other name given under hea-

ven whereby men can be saved, but Jesus Christ, it is evident that the gospel must be universally diffused, and that "all nations" must be "subdued to the obedience of faith." And to this glorious event both promise and prophecy lead our expectations. "I saw," says Daniel, "in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came in the clouds of Heaven and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*

Thus there is to be a visible and territorial, if not an actual, subjugation of the whole world to the power and rule of the Redeemer. Thrice happy and glorious period! then the reign of darkness is to end and innocence and peace are to be enthroned. Innocence and peace, those blessed emblems of millennial happiness and glory. So will a new creation arise as from the ruins of the old, when the various ranks of being, no longer separated, shall form one beautiful chain of happy intercourse. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They

* Dan. vii. 13, 14.

shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."^{*}

This representation of the future state of the world, it may be said, is exceedingly delightful; but how is such a mighty revolution to be effected? It is to be effected by the Gospel, accompanied by the Almighty power of the Holy Spirit. "But how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a preacher? and how can they preach except they be sent?" Human instrumentality is necessary in the order of means for the moral renovation of the world. The obligations under which all real Christians are laid should be felt, acknowledged, and, to the best of their ability, discharged; for they come to them not simply as duties, but as commands enforced by the example, and enjoined by the authority, of Christ. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."[†] Like the apostles, missionaries in every succeeding age were to be "sent unto the Gentiles to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness unto light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them which are sanctified through faith which is in Christ."[‡]

It is deeply to be regretted that it was not until a comparatively recent period that Christians in general seemed aware of their duty towards the heathen world; and thus ages were suffered to pass away, during which it might be said by the eight hundred millions of our race who every thirty years pass into eternity as they cast their eye of distraction up to the frowning judge, "No man cared for my soul."

No sooner, however, did the Church awake from her slumbers than she clearly perceived her obligation: then she buckled on her armour, and was resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to take possession of the rich inheritance bequeathed to her. Hence, the formation of Missionary, Bible, Scriptural Education, and Sunday School Societies, and others of a similar nature, at once the ornament and glory of our land. Thus began a new era in the history of the Church of Christ. Such, indeed, on the formation of the first Missionary Society (in modern times) was the novelty of its cha-

racter, so mysterious and powerful the difficulties against which it had to contend, and such the vastness and grandeur of its aim, that an interest was associated with it unparalleled in any age since that of the Apostles. The object contemplated, indeed, was regarded as a mighty and glorious, yet, in some respects, a dubious enterprise, requiring deep reflection in the plan, and no small degree of wisdom, courage, perseverance, self-denial, and simple yet firm dependence upon God in the execution. In this light it was viewed by the agents to whom it was at first entrusted. "Our undertaking to India," says Mr. Fuller, "appeared to me, at its commencement, to resemble that of a few men who stood deliberating about the importance and necessity of penetrating into a deep mine which had never before been explored. We had no one to guide us, and while we were thus deliberating, Carey said, as it were, 'Well, I will go down if you will hold the ropes;' but before he went down he, as it seemed to me, took an oath from each of us, that while we lived we would never let go the ropes."

Nor were circumstances more favourable after the arrival of the first missionaries in Bengal. "Everywhere," says Mr. Ward, "we were advised to go back. Even one or two good men thought the attempt utterly impracticable. India, in short, has been long considered an impregnable fortress defended by the gods. Many a Christian soldier, it has been said, may be slain in the entrenchments, but the fort will never be taken."

Under such circumstances did the first missionaries enter the field. They laboured long and hard, and, as they had anticipated, against obstacles calculated to appal the stoutest heart; but, having thus counted the cost, and recognising the principle that no appearances however adverse altered their obligation, they still persevered, "trusting in God."

The promised blessing was at length bestowed. Barrier after barrier began to give way and disappear. This success produced a reaction upon the churches at home, and the heralds of salvation were successively multiplied. And now let us ask, what are the results of an enterprise, the operations of which were so doubtfully and almost inauspiciously begun? It may suffice to say that the results have exceeded the calcula-

^{*} Isaiah xi. 6—9. [†] Mark xvi. 15. [‡] Acts xxvi. 18.

tions of the most sanguine of the friends of missions. Whole nations have given up their gods. One island after another of the great southern archipelago has renounced its superstitions and assumed the Christian name, whilst, among the habitations of cruelty in the West, there is kindled a light which the united opposition of earth and hell will never be able to extinguish. The cloud of moral darkness which has for ages hovered over the continent of India has begun to retire—the spell of Brahma is dissolving—the chains of caste are falling off—the wheels of Juggernaut are scarce ensanguined—the horrid custom of self-immolation has disappeared, and the “sacred tide of Jordan mingles with the Ganges.”

From the borders of China extending along many of the shores of the eastern continent, and even to the interior of Africa, has the light of life extended. In almost every portion of the globe are churches and schools rising up, the landmarks of missionary progress, forming a beautiful contrast to the surrounding barrenness and desolation—churches “built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.” In almost every direction we are presented with increasingly brightening prospects. In some parts of the field God is not only with his servants, but it may emphatically be said that he has gone before them. The ground appears to be already ploughed up to their hands. They have nothing to do but to cast in the seed, and it immediately vegetates and brings forth an abundant harvest. All that seems wanted is increased liberality on the part of the Church to furnish more labourers to gather it in. To change the allusion, no sooner is an attack made upon the powers of darkness than a retreat is sounded, and all that seems required are reinforcements of men and increased pecuniary supplies to occupy the ceded ground. Allusion is here made more especially to the island of Jamaica, of which, as connected with the work of God, the following pages, it is hoped, will furnish some interesting particulars.

CHAPTER II.

SKETCH OF THE ISLAND.

Civil History and Geographical Situation—Discovery—Settlement by the Spaniards—Conquest by the British—Subsequent History.

THE island of Jamaica is one of the cluster of islands called the West Indies, which extends from Florida, in North America, to the mouth of the great river Orinoco, in South America. They are divided into windward and leeward, or the greater and lesser Antilles. Jamaica (or *Xaymaca*) is one of the latter group, and signifies, in the language of the aboriginal inhabitants, “a land abounding in springs.”

It is situated between the parallels of 17° 39' and 78° 34' north latitude, and between 76° 3' and 78° 34' west longitude; 4000 miles southwest of England; 90 miles west of St. Domingo; and 435 miles north of Carthage, on the South American continent. It is nearly of an oval form, and is 180 miles long, and 60 in extreme breadth, containing about 4,080,000 acres of land, or 6400 square miles.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus on the 3rd of May, 1494, on his second voyage to the New World. He had previously visited Hispaniola and Cuba. When first discovered by the Spaniards, the island is said to have been densely populated by Indians, a race of men (unlike the Caribs—cannibals who inhabited some of the windward islands) benevolent and mild in their dispositions; of great simplicity of manners; and by no means unskilled in some of the arts of civilized life. They were assimilated, indeed, in these respects, as well as in appearance and language, to the aborigines of the contiguous continent. Sailing a southwest course from the east end of Cuba, Columbus approached the north side of the island, and being defeated in endeavouring to effect a landing at Santa Maria* (now Port Maria), by the hostile demonstrations of the natives, he proceeded to another harbour, a little to the northward, which he called Orá Cabessa, and there, after encountering similar opposition, which he subdued by discharging several of his arbalètes, or pieces of cannon, among the assailants, he planted the royal standard of Spain.

* So called after the name of his first ship.

The appearance of the strangers; the report of their artillery; and above all, the slaughter they had witnessed, struck the Indians with astonishment and awe. A negotiation was therefore effected, and the invaders were plentifully supplied with the various productions of the island, by an interchange of presents. Here the Spaniards remained for about ten days, and, disappointed in their expectation of finding precious metals, they sailed again to Cuba.

With the exception of a simple survey of the coast, which he commenced at Rio Bueno on the 22nd June, 1494, and which occupied him until the 20th of the ensuing August, nothing further was heard of Columbus by the natives of Jamaica during a period of nine years. Fortunate had it been for these peaceful and comparatively happy islanders, as well as for the Spaniards themselves, had this been the termination of their mutual intercourse; but other changes and calamities awaited them. Columbus revisited the island on the 4th July, 1502, when, on his fourth voyage after having been compelled by stress of weather to shelter in the Isle of Pines, on the coast of Cuba, and after a disastrous expedition to Veraqua, or the island of St. Christopher, accompanied by his son Diego, and brother Bartholomew, encountering dreadful weather, in which he lost two of his ships, he was driven to Maxaca, an Indian village on the southern coast of Cuba. Here he effected a slight repair of his vessels, and putting again to sea, was driven by a violent storm on an uninhabited part of the north coast of Jamaica, destitute both of water and provisions. To have remained in such a situation would have been a voluntary submission to all the horrors of famine. Although, therefore, his remaining vessels were in a foundering state, this intrepid mariner once more turned his shattered prows to the deep. The tradewind drove them in a westerly direction, and himself and crews being in great jeopardy of their lives, Columbus ran his vessels on the shore at St. Ann's Bay, called by him Santa Gloria, distinguished to the present time as Don Christopher's Cove. In this shallow bay, protected by a reef of rocks, and otherwise secured from the elements, the weather-beaten and exhausted mariners were afforded temporary security and repose. The natives treated them with the greatest kindness and hospitality, little sus-

pecting the manner in which their generosity would be repaid. Meanwhile Columbus sought deliverance from his forlorn situation. With this view he despatched his secretary, Diego Mendez and Fieski, two of his most intrepid and faithful officers, in two boats, furnished with ten Indians and six Castilians, to Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, 200 leagues distant, for assistance and supplies. Mendez at the same time was appointed by the admiral to proceed to the Court of Spain, with a memorial to the King. Ovando, to gratify his revenge on Columbus, with whom he was at enmity, instead of affording him the required relief, basely took advantage of the admiral's calamities, by adding to them mockery and insult. A latent suspicion had long been lurking in the breasts of some of his companions, that they had incurred the displeasure of the Government at home, and of the Viceroy of Hispaniola, on account of their fidelity to Columbus, and the late occurrence tended to confirm that impression. A mutiny therefore ensued, instigated by two of his principal officers—the brothers De Porras. Various charges were brought against their veteran commander by the mutineers, as a pretext for their atrocities, and several times, when confined to his miserable cabin by acute disease, were attempts made upon his life, which were only frustrated by the skill and bravery of his brother Bartholomew.

The mutineers were intent on making efforts to reach Hispaniola. For this purpose they seized ten canoes which Columbus had purchased from the Indians, with a view to the mutual escape of himself and crews, and manning them with Indians as rowers, whom they forcibly compelled to the task, they proceeded along the shore to the east end of the island—the spot to which they had previously accompanied Mendez and Fieski—when, after plundering the coast, and committing other excesses, they stood out to sea. Their frail barks were unable to sustain the fury of the storm that arose, and to secure their own lives they sacrificed those of the Indians, by throwing them overboard with the baggage. Driven back successively, and at length become desperate by their reverses, the base conspirators vented their diabolical passions on the hospitable Indians—their almost broken-hearted admiral, and his few faithful adherents. Among

the Indians they committed the greatest enormities, laying waste their provision-grounds, and destroying the lives of all who opposed the gratification of their passions, thereby subjecting themselves and all their unfortunate companions to the most fearful retaliation of their benefactors. The Indians, as apprehended, failed in their supplies, and famine began to stare the Spaniards in the face. It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that Columbus resorted to the expedient of securing a continuance of the obedience and friendship of the natives, by foretelling an eclipse of the moon.*

Diego Columbus at length reduced the rebels to their allegiance, by an engagement in which many of them were slain. But the deliverance of the exiles from their now almost unendurable situation was at hand. In a month afterwards, 28th June, 1504, after the lapse of little more than a year, the vessels despatched from Santa Gloria to Hispaniola under the command of Mendez and Fieski returned, and the admiral, with the remnant of his diseased and half-famished crews, immediately departed, leaving the Indians once more in the peaceful possession of their lovely isle.

But the period of their repose was brief. In 1509, three years afterwards, Christopher Columbus died,† and a still more bitter cup was prepared for them, the very

* "Under these circumstances Columbus convened all the Caciques in the neighbourhood, that he might inform them of something which was of importance to their happiness, and essential to their preservation. These good creatures attended him; and he, after complaining of their leaving him and his companions to perish by famine, addressed them in the following words, which he pronounced with peculiar emphasis, as if he had been inspired:—'To punish you for your cruel conduct, the Great Spirit, whom I adore, is going to visit you with his most terrible judgments. This very evening you will observe the moon turn red; after which she will grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will only be a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately persist in refusing to give us food.' He had scarcely finished this speech, when his prophecy was accomplished. The natives were astonished; and being easily induced to deeds of benevolence, they, upon a promise of better behaviour by Columbus in behalf of his turbulent followers, and assurances of a speedy departure, promised to supply them with whatever they required. He then told them, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was now to resume her wonted course. They afterwards conducted themselves with greater circumspection; and were, during the remainder of their stay, furnished with the necessary supplies of provision."

† The body of Columbus is said to have been conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians, at Seville, where he was magnificently interred in the cathedral

last dregs of which they were doomed to drain. Jamaica, with its inhabitants, was now given up by the court of Spain to the unrestrained tyranny of Alfonso d'Ojeda and Diego Nicuissa, between whom it had divided the government of Darien. Disputes arose between these rival chieftains as to the division of the lands, and the human property thus placed at their disposal; and the consequences of this unlimited power to the unoffending victims of their misrule are almost too dreadful to relate. Their peaceful villages were everywhere destroyed, and hundreds who escaped the general and indiscriminate massacre, which at length, for a time at least, satiated the thirst of its perpetrators for blood, were doomed to administer to their lust of avarice by interminable slavery in the mines of Mexico or Peru. In the midst of these disputes and remorseless cruelties Don Diego, the son of the Great Discoverer, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola, having a prior claim to the viceroyalty of Jamaica, instituted proceedings against the crown of Castile, with a view to the recovery of his rights, and sent Don Juan d'Esquimel, with seventy men, to take possession of the island on his behalf. D'Esquimel reduced it at very little expense of life or property; and, in further obedience to his instructions, commenced a colony, and founded the seat of government on the banks of a rivulet, near the ruins of the ancient Indian village Mayama, on the north side of the island. It was Santa Gloria, a spot hallowed in the affections of Diego's heart on account of the shipwreck and sufferings of his father in 1503, and he named it Sevilla Nueva.

His suit against the crown was decided in his favour by the Council of the Indies, and the designation Sevilla Nueva was an appropriate commemoration of that event. The infant colony both claimed and shared the sympathy and attention of its heredi-

of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription:—

A Castilla y á Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

In English,

To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a New World.

Subsequently, it is said his body was carried from the above monastery to the city of Domingo, in Hispaniola, and interred in the chancel of the cathedral there.

tary Viceroy; and to promote its general interests, but especially those of a spiritual kind, his brother Ferdinand now arrived from Spain, and established a monastery. These preparations, as may be supposed, were viewed with no little jealousy by the band of Indians that had survived the fatal reign of D'Ojeda and Nicuissa, and they armed themselves in opposition. At length, in utter hopelessness of success, they gradually sank into the condition of slaves, the cruelties they had suffered having extinguished almost every trace of their former dispositions and character.

"Oft the pensive muse

Recalls, in tender thought, the mournful scene
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train
Dying bequeathed. The hour (he said) arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold;
Fierce from the deep, with Heaven's own lightning
armed,

The pallid nation comes; blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport; and man their prey."*

"San Domingo, then in all its glory, graced by the presence of royal blood and many of the nobility of Castile, and the seat of fashion in the New World, communicated its luxuriance and taste to Sevilla Nueva (now called Sevilla d'Oro, from the gold brought thither by the natives); and a splendid city arose, rivalling in magnificence the towns of the mother country, but of which not a vestige remains, save

* "The manner in which the remorseless Spaniards tortured their unoffending victims was worthy of the goodness of such a cause. They seized upon them by violence, distributed them like brutes into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. It was also a frequent practice among them, as one of their own historians informs us (human nature shudders at the tale), to murder hundreds of these poor creatures, merely to keep their hands in use. They were eager in displaying an emulation, which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow, and wagers frequently depended on this horrid exercise. It is impossible for words to express the indignation and disgust excited by such merciless cruelty. If any of these unhappy Indians, goaded by their sufferings, and driven to despair, attempted resistance or flight, their unfeeling murderers hunted them down with dogs, who were fed on their flesh. Weakness of age, and helplessness of sex, were equally disregarded by these monsters. And yet they had the impudence to suppose themselves religious, and the favourites of heaven! Some of the most zealous of these adorners of the Holy Virgin forced their unhappy captives into the water, and after administering to them the rites of baptism, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apostacy! Others made and kept a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of Christ and his twelve apostles! But let us turn from this scene of human depravity; a scene the most remorseless and cruel ever displayed on the theatre of the world."

the memory of the name, the cane-fields on the site of the former capital being still termed *Seville*.*

The government of Don Juan d'Esquimel was considered mild and conciliating towards the natives; and in pursuance of his designs for the advancement of the colony, he encouraged the culture of cotton, and introduced the sugar-cane and the vine, together with European cattle, which, with propitious skies and a fruitful soil, was more abundantly compensative than all the treasures which, at such an awful sacrifice of life, his predecessors had wrung from the bowels of the earth. Unhappily both for the Indians and the colony the rule of Don d'Esquimel was short. He expired about the year 1519, at his own estate, on the south side of the island, situated in front of a beautiful bay called Sevilla d'Oro, or Esquimel, now Old Harbour, where he had established a ship-building settlement, and was there interred. Under his mild and comparatively equitable government the colony had greatly prospered. In the short space of ten years three vessels had been fitted out under his direction, manned by 270 seamen, with a view to other conquests, and two new towns were established as branches of Sevilla d'Oro; Blewfields or Oristan, on the south; and Melilla or Martha Brae, near Falmouth, on the northern coast of the island. Esquimel was succeeded in the Government by an individual of a very different character and spirit, the cruel and avaricious Francis de Geray, a Spaniard who had rapidly advanced himself to wealth and importance as the partner of the celebrated Dias, the proprietor of the famed gold-mine of St. Christopher, in Hispaniola.

In 1523, Sevilla d'Oro and the other settlements on the coast suffered greatly from a banditti of French privateers or filibustiers, allured by the prospect of spoil. Oristan and Manilla were successively razed to the ground; and at length the capital itself yielded to the ravages of these lawless corsairs. A safer retreat became necessary than could be afforded by contiguity to the sea, and Diego finally fixed the site of the new settlement near the extremity of a fertile plain, on the south side of the island, which was water-

* Bridges.

ed by the clear streams of an impetuous river. It rapidly rose in estimation and importance, and was called by its founder St. Jago de la Vega, or St. Jago of the Plains, to distinguish it, as is supposed, from St. Jago de Cuba. Three years after this event Don Diego Columbus died, and, owing to several circumstances connected with his decease, the prosperity of the country declined, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the new capital, St. Jago de la Vega. Here, in sixteen years from its foundation, industry and wealth had been so stimulated by the security which its situation afforded, that it soon rivalled Sevilla d'Oro when in its greatest magnificence, and gave the title of Marquis to the grandson of the Great Discoverer.

On the first possession of the island by the Spaniards the aboriginal inhabitants were estimated at from 80,000, to 100,000; and, as an evidence of the atrocities they suffered at the hands of their merciless conquerors, they are represented by the historian Gage, writing in 1637, as having been, in the year 1558, entirely exterminated:

*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!*

Hence, owing to European wars and the predatory incursions of hordes of freebooters and privateers, the colony was subject to various vicissitudes until 1596. Shortly before this period the effective strength of the settlers was augmented by the arrival of a considerable number of Portuguese, owing to a union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the territorial right of the island was vested in the royal house of Braganza. The trade of the colony was thus greatly increased, and chiefly consisted of ginger, tobacco, sugar, lard and hides, whilst the domestic animals, swine, horses, and horned cattle, originally brought from Hispaniola, had so multiplied as to overrun the island. The capital, thus again feeling the influence of increasing wealth, far exceeded its former prosperity and magnificence.

Hitherto, from various causes, Jamaica had never attracted the invasion of a foreign European power; but its fame for wealth and prosperity now became known to Sir Anthony Shirley, a British admiral, who, being at that time cruising in the

neighbourhood, invaded it with a large fleet, and effected an easy conquest of it at Passage Fort. Plundering the capital and the most accessible parts of the country of its treasure, he left it for richer conquests. Thirty-nine years afterwards, during which, under the government of Don Arnoldo de Sasi, the town rose to its highest state of prosperity, it was invaded in a similar manner by Colonel Jackson, who, at the head of 500 men, after a desperate engagement with the Spanish garrison there of very superior force, also effected his landing at Passage Fort, and committed the same excesses.

The termination of the next twenty years, from whatever cause it might arise, saw the inhabitants of this flourishing colony enervated by sloth, and oppressed by poverty. The population of the whole island did not now exceed 1500 Spaniards and Portuguese, the same number of mulattoes and negro slaves, and eight families of the higher classes. The latter, called *Hidalgos*, possessed the entire island, which was divided into as many *patos* or districts between them.

A new era in the history of the island approached. Owing to a succession of provocations and injuries on the part of Spain—as well, as is supposed, to re-establish the maritime supremacy of England (now greatly enfeebled) by adding to her colonial possessions, and thus to establish an equality of right to the navigation of the American seas—Cromwell fitted out an expedition for the subjugation of Hispaniola. The armament consisted of 6500 men, and was committed to the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. Failing in their attempt on the capital of the Spanish settlements, for which they were afterwards committed to the Tower, they attacked Jamaica on the 3d of May, 1655, which capitulated after a trifling resistance. It thus became an appendage to the British Crown, after it had been in the possession of the Spaniards 146 years. From the terms of the negotiation and the delay that occurred in the ratification of the treaty, the conquerors were disappointed in their expectations of booty. The inhabitants had conveyed away into the woods every thing valuable they possessed. Disease, famine and party feuds resulted from the excesses committed by the British army; and these, added to the defenceless

state of the island, led to renewed efforts on the part of Spain to regain her lost possession, but without success. For a time its new occupants revelled in luxury; but, subsequently, dissipated by indolence and crime, and at length enfeebled by disease and poverty, they became but little superior to the savage monsters they supplanted. Thus, among other evidences of their barbarity, Colonel D'Oyley sanctioned the introduction of blood-hounds into the country, for "the hunting of the negroes," as it was savagely expressed in one of the public documents of the time.*

Hitherto, from the conquest of the island by the English, it had been under the influence of a military government. A civil administration was now to be formed, and Colonel Edward D'Oyley was elevated to the office of governor, which took place in 1661. Jamaica now became the rendezvous of buccaneers, and the resort of piratical crusaders; a desperate band of adventurers composed of men from all the maritime powers of Europe. These marauders continued their depredations until the year 1670, when peace was made with Spain. They intercepted the Spanish galleons in their transit with the precious metals to Europe, pillaged towns and villages, and multiplied the number of negro-slaves. The character of the white population at this time was deplorable—composed of disbanded soldiers, Spanish refugees, hordes of pirates and buccaneers, convicts, and indented servants, and the dregs of the three kingdoms, who exhibited every kind of excess, and perpetrated almost every degree of wickedness.

In the feuds so rife in England between the Republican and Royalist parties the colonists participated with the utmost rancour. It must, however, be said, to the honour of Charles, on his Restoration, that he confirmed D'Oyley in the government, and removed the existing asperities by an impartial bestowment of some valuable immunities. In September, 1662, Governor

D'Oyley was succeeded in the administration of affairs by Lord Windsor, who was deputed to effect a beneficial alteration in the form of government. This nobleman appointed judges of quarter-session and a magistracy; established a militia; divided the island into parishes, and granted patents of land; investing it with a complete municipal character. The first assembly was convened under authority of the King in Council in 1664, by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Charles Lyttleton. It consisted of thirty members and a speaker, who enacted laws which received the sanction of the King. Its sittings were divided between the seat of government and Port Royal, for the mutual convenience and benefit of the public. Under the administration of Sir Thomas Modyford, a wealthy planter from Barbadoes, a serious dispute arose between the Colonial Legislature and the Crown on the subject of taxation, and the parties by whom the supplies thus raised were to be controlled. In 1670 peace was proclaimed with Spain; and it was found necessary for its preservation, as well as for other reasons, to discourage the marauding expeditions of the pirates already noticed, who, now in the height of their successes, infested the seas of the New World, and poured forth their ill-gotten treasures into Jamaica.

The most notorious chieftain of these was Morgan, whose name is intimately connected with the history of the islands. He was born in 1635, and was a native of Wales, of the clan of the Morgans of Tredegar; and, by his extraordinary exploits both by sea and land, was afterwards elevated to the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. At this period, although the island had been possessed by the British but fourteen years, and had been cradled amidst storms and difficulties almost inconceivable, it exhibited a degree of prosperity truly astonishing. The white population was 15,198; its effective sea and land forces, 5221; and negro-slaves, 9500. Of sugar, pimento, cocoa, indigo, and other properties, there was from 150 to 200. In the following year, 1671, on the accession of Sir Thomas Lynch, still more effective measures were employed for the extension of agriculture and commerce. Very important regulations were also introduced into the laws for the better protection of property and life.

* The following orders, extracted from the records of the State Paper Office, will convey a curious picture of the spirit and manners of that age:—

"Aug. 14. An order signed Edward D'Oyley, for the distribution to the army of 1701 Bibles.

"Aug. 25, 1659. Order issued this day unto Mr. Peter Pugh, Treasurer, to pay unto John Hoy the summe of Twenty Pounds sterling, out of the imposit money, to pay for fifteene doggs, brought by him for the hunting of the negroes."

Morgan, the late pirate and buccaneer, raised to the honour of knighthood for his conquest of Panama, succeeded to the government. His administration was brief, and distinguished for little but an attempt to increase the cultivation of the north side of the island, and for quelling an insurrection of the slaves. He is stated by some historians to have died at Port Royal, where he had resided for several years as a peaceful citizen; and by others to have expired in England a miserable victim to the influence of the Spanish Court.

Morgan was succeeded by Lord Vaughan and the Earl of Carlisle; and it was under the administration of the former that the African Company was formed which legalized the Slave Trade. In 1688 the Duke of Albemarle arrived as governor, appointed by his patron James II. He rendered himself unpopular by his bigoted zeal in favour of Popery, and interrupted for a time the peace and prosperity of the country. Commerce, however, received under his administration a new stimulus by an extensive immigration of Jews; and Sir Hans Sloane, his Excellency's private secretary, increased the boundaries of natural history by adding to it his excellent collection of plants.

In addition to the calamities experienced by the planters and inhabitants generally from the predatory incursions of the Maroons, now considerably augmented in number by the desertion of slaves from the lawless tyranny of their possessors, they were visited by a succession of calamities still more dreadful and desolating. Port Royal, long the rendezvous of the buccaneers, the mart of the new world, and which had become proverbial both for its wealth and its wickedness, was swallowed up by an earthquake with 3000 of the inhabitants of the island. It occurred about midday on the 7th June, 1692. The sky, which a little time before was clear and serene, was suddenly overshadowed with partial darkness, exhibiting faint gleams of red and purple. The sea was calm. The Governor and Council were met in session. As on the day that Noah entered into the ark, the inhabitants were immersed in their various schemes of business and pleasure; the wharves were laden with the richest merchandise; the markets and stores displayed the splendid treasures of Mexico and Peru; and the streets were crowded

with people. On a sudden a roar was heard in the distant mountains, which reverberated through the valleys to the beach. The sea immediately rose, and in three minutes stood five fathoms over the houses of the devoted town. Nearly the whole city was deluged, while the spectacles of corpses, mangled by the concussion of the earth, with the shrieks and lamentations of the sufferers, were awful beyond expression. Although no air was in motion, the sea was agitated as by a tempest. Billows rose and fell with such violence that the vessels in the harbour broke from their moorings; one of the vessels of war, the *Swan* frigate, was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and, as if in mercy to the sufferers, afforded them a refuge from still impending danger. Of the whole city, which a few minutes before consisted of 3000 houses, not more than 200 with the fort were left uninjured. The greater part of the wealth and property of the city was destroyed, and, what was more to be regretted, because irreparable, all the official papers and records of the island. The whole country felt the shock and shared the effects of the awful visitation. The current of rivers was intercepted, and new channels were formed; hills were driven together with a crash surpassing thunder; mountains were riven to pieces, and, falling into the valleys beneath, involved the destruction of hundreds of inhabitants; whole settlements sunk into the bowels of the earth; plantations were removed from their situation, and all the sugar-works were destroyed; in a word, the outline of everything was changed, and the whole surface of the island almost entirely subsided. The sunken houses of the city on a fine clear day are distinguishable beneath the surface of the ocean. Putrefying bodies, exposed in the suburbs of the towns and floating in the harbour, generated a noxious miasm, which swept off 3000 of the sufferers who yet remained. As a sad and lasting memorial of this awful calamity, Green Bay, on the opposite side of the harbour, exhibits the tomb of Louis Caldý,*

* The following is the epitaph copied from his tomb situated at a place called Green Bay, opposite the harbour of Port Royal, which the author has repeatedly visited:—

"Here lieth the body of Louis Caldý, Esq., a native of Montpelier, in France, which country he left on account of the Revocation. He was swallowed up by an earthquake which occurred at this place in

who was almost miraculously preserved from a watery grave in the midst of the catastrophe.

Scarcely had the colonists recovered from the panic and distress into which they were thrown by the earthquake, than they were threatened by the calamities of war. The French General, M. Ducasse, Governor of St. Domingo, invaded the island with a powerful armament. He committed the most wanton and aggravated cruelties, and thus added to the miseries already entailed upon them by the elements of nature and the ravages of disease. He was finally routed by the bravery of the militia at Carlisle Bay, one of the south-side ports. For several years afterwards the colony experienced a succession of favourable events. Port Royal rose again from its ruins, agriculture and commerce were re-established, and the appearances of wealth and splendour revived. This period of peace and commercial prosperity extended through almost a century, and was interrupted only by the party feuds that arose from the exactions of the parent state. In 1702 Port Royal was almost entirely destroyed by fire, occasioned by an explosion of gunpowder that was carelessly exposed to the action of the sun in the roofs of stores covered with a light resinous wood. Devastated in August, 1722, by a tremendous hurricane, and almost depopulated by an epidemic disease that immediately followed, the seat of commerce was finally transferred to Kingston, which began to be founded after the calamity of 1692.

Under the mild and salutary administration of the Duke of Portland, a bill passed the House of Assembly, and received the sanction of the Crown, that was regarded as the "Magna Charta" of Jamaica; one of the effects of which was to annihilate the unhappy differences which had so long existed between the colonists and the government at home.* A succession of favourable events followed the war with Spain; whilst the subjection of the Maroons, who had so long harassed the island, having been effected under Vice-Admiral

Vernon and Governor Trelawney, Jamaica attained unexampled prosperity, comprising in 1742, besides abundant wealth, a population of 14,000 whites and 100,000 slaves. In 1751 Admiral Knowles attempted to remove the seat of government to Kingston, but was finally compelled to abandon his purpose by the remonstrances and threats of the populace. Insecurity of life and property is the inevitable result of so unnatural and atrocious a system as that of slavery, and another insurrection of the slaves occurred, which threatened the destruction of the entire white population. It was speedily subdued, but the atrocities perpetrated in retaliation by the whites would excite a shudder of horror at their recital even at this distance of time. The success of the British arms during the war perpetuated the prosperity of the colony, and led to some important improvements. Various public buildings were erected at St. Jago de la Vega; the banks of the Rio Cobre were adorned by groves of aromatic trees and elegant villas and farms; sugar estates were established extensively on the north side of the island; and peace and plenty shed their blessings over the land. In 1763 Fort Augusta, the large military establishment which occupies a promontory at the entrance of Kingston harbour, was destroyed by the explosion of its magazine, containing 3000 barrels of gunpowder, ignited by lightning. By this catastrophe hundreds of the residents of the garrison were killed and wounded, and immense property was destroyed.

The number of negro slaves annually imported into Jamaica at this period amounted to 16,000, so that within thirty years the slave population had increased from 99,000 to upwards of 200,000, whilst the total numerical strength of the whites did not exceed 16,000.

England being involved in a war with her North American Colonies, Jamaica was threatened with an attack from the combined fleets of France and Spain, commanded by Count de Grasse. The designs of these powerful enemies, however, were frustrated by Lords Rodney and Hood, who gained a signal victory over them off Dominica, on the 12th of April, 1782. A marble statue was subsequently erected to Lord Rodney in the square at Spanish Town, or St. Jago de la Vega, to com-

1692; but, by the great providence of God, was, by a second shock, flung into the sea, where he continued swimming until rescued by a boat, and lived 40 years afterwards."

* The Revenue Bill, which granted to the colony the immunities of British laws.

memorate the event,* and a splendid present was made to General Archibald Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor, for the preparations he had made in defence.

His late Majesty William IV., then a midshipman in the navy, visited Jamaica about this period, and had abundant evidence of the loyalty of its inhabitants, who subsequently presented him with a star of the value of a thousand guineas. The year 1795 was distinguished by another war with the Maroons, occasioned by the intemperate policy of Earl Balcarres, which ended in the banishment of that high-minded people to Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone.

Although tranquillity was again restored, the colonists, from the very circumstances of their condition, were continually subject to alarm. Their connection with the slave-trade,—their gross oppressions of their bondsmen—and the position of the island in reference to the whole of the New World—all contributed to their insecurity; but the revolution at St. Domingo (now Hayti), and the general state of affairs in Europe, presented an aspect that threatened them with inevitable ruin. Although, however, the worst apprehensions were not realized by the occurrences in the neighbouring islands, the expenditures occasioned by the destruction of so many of the public works, by the disastrous conflicts within and around them, added to the state and luxury in which the greater part of the inhabitants now revelled, very materially diminished their prosperity, and their ruin was only averted by a loan of 300,000*l.* from the parent Government. A fire, which nearly consumed the town of Montego Bay—an apprehended invasion of the French from St. Domingo—a conspiracy among the slaves in Kingston—the abolition of the slave-trade, and the victories of Lord Nelson and Admiral Sir Thomas Duckworth over the French fleets destined to the conquest of the island—are almost the only occurrences deserving of historical record to the year 1823. The events which have transpired from that time to the present will be recorded elsewhere. It is, however, not unworthy of remark in the conclusion of this sketch, and that chiefly as an evidence of the great

impolicy as well as injustice of slavery, that nearly thirty insurrections of the slave population occurred within the period of its possession by the British, and that the insurrection in 1832 involved the lives of 700 of the slaves, and an expense of 161,596*l.*, independently of the value of property destroyed, which was estimated at 1,154,583*l.*, thus rendering a further loan of 300,000*l.* from the parent Government necessary to meet the exigencies thus occasioned. The whole past history of Jamaica and of the West India islands in general, like the prophet's roll, "is filled with lamentation, mourning, and woe." It presents only a succession of wars, usurpations, crimes, misery, and vice; "nor in this desert of human wretchedness is there one green spot on which the mind of a philanthropist would love to dwell;" all is one revolting scene of infamy, bloodshed, and unmitigated woe, of insecure peace and open disturbance, of the abuse of power, and of the reaction of misery against oppression. "Slavery, both Indian and negro, that blighting Upas, has been the curse of the West Indies; it has accompanied the white colonist, whether Spaniard, Frenchman, or Briton, in his progress, tainting, like a plague, every incipient association, and blasting the efforts of man, however originally well-disposed, by its demon-like influence over the natural virtues with which his Creator had endowed him—leaving all cold and dark, and desolate within."*

The following are the names of the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and temporary rulers of Jamaica, with the years when they commenced their administrations:—

Governor, Colonel D'Oyley, 1660; Governor, Lord Windsor, 1662; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Lyttleton, Knt., 1662; President, Colonel Thomas Lynch, 1664; Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, Knt., 1664; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir T. Lynch, Knt., 1671; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Morgan, Knt., 1675; Governor, Lord Vaughan, 1675, Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Morgan, Knt.; Governor, Charles Earl of Carlisle, 1678; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Morgan, Knt., 1680; Governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, Knt., 1682; Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Hender Moles-

* This statue was executed by Bacon, and cost 3000 guineas.

* Martin's Colonies.

worth, 1684; Governor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, 1687; President, Sir Francis Watson, 1688; Governor, William Earl of Inchiquin, 1690; President, John White, Esq., 1692; President, John Bourden, Esq., 1692; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Beeston, Knt., 1693; Governor, William Selwyn, Esq., 1702; Lieutenant-Governor, P. Beckford, Esq., 1702; Lieutenant-Governor, T. Handasyd, Esq., 1702; Governor, Lord Arch. Hamilton, 1711; Governor, Peter Haywood, Esq., 1716; Governor, Sir Nicholas Lawes, Knt., 1718; Governor, Henry Duke of Portland, 1722; President, John Ayscough, Esq., 1722; Governor, Major-General Robert Hunter, 1728; President, John Ayscough, Esq., 1734; President, John Gregory, Esq., 1735; Henry Cunningham, Esq., was appointed Governor in 1735, but President Gregory was succeeded by Governor Edward Trelawney, Esq., 1738; Governor, Charles Knowles, Esq., 1752; Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Moore, Esq., 1756; Governor, George Haldane, Esq., 1758; Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Moore, Esq., 1759; Governor, W. H. Lyttleton, Esq., 1762; Lieutenant-Governor, R. H. Ettelson, Esq., 1766; Governor, Sir William Trelawney, Bart., 1767; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Dalling, 1773; Governor, Basil Keith, Knt., 1773; Governor, Major-General Dalling, 1777; Governor, Major-General Archibald Campbell, 1782; Lieutenant-Governor, Brigadier-General Alured Clarke, 1784; Governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, 1790; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Williamson, 1793; Lieutenant-Governor, Earl of Balcarres, 1795; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieut.-General G. Nugent, 1801; Lieutenant-Governor, Lt.-General Sir E. Coote, 1806; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1808; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General E. Morrison, 1811; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1813; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General H. Conran, 1821; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1822; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Sir John Keene, 1827; Governor, Earl of Belmore, 1829; President, G. Cuthbert, Esq., 1832; Governor, C. H. Earl of Mulgrave, 1832; Lt.-Governor, Maj.-Gen'l. Sir Amos Norcott; Governor, Marquis of Sligo, 1834;*

Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Lionel Smith, Bart., 1836; Governor, Sir Chas. Theophilus Metcalfe, 1839; Governor, James Earl of Elgin, and Kincardine, 1842.

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

Scenery—Mountains—Rivers—Springs—Cascades—Harbours.

It is said that Columbus, when he first discovered the Islands of the Western world, was so enraptured with the beauty and magnificence of the scenery as scarcely to be persuaded but that he had reached the fabled regions of romance. Hence the glowing description which he transmitted to his royal patrons, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. "These countries as far exceed all others in beauty and convenience as the sun surpasses the moon in brightness and splendour." Never will the writer forget the feelings of wonder and admiration with which he first beheld Jamaica, the most beautiful of the group. He was standing on the deck of the vessel as she entered the harbour of Port Morant, at its eastern extremity. It was at an early hour of the morning, the land wind had died away, and not a breath swept the glassy surface of the dark blue sea. Before him stood the Blue mountains rising by an almost abrupt acclivity from the water's edge, their tops enveloped in clouds, and covered from their base to their highest elevation with huge forest-trees and shrubs of novel appearance and beauty, partially obscured by the dense fog that crept along their sides. On either hand, as far as the eye could distinguish, the margin of the sea was fringed with the mangrove-tree, interspersed with occasional clumps of the cocoanut and mountain-palm; far along the enchanting panorama were dwellings that now caught and reflected the first rays of the sun; while ever and anon, the full tide played in white breakers or in silver crests on the shore.

As you proceed towards Port Royal the landscape becomes more diversified. The mountain range which intersects the island

* Martin's Colonies.

appears at intervals disjointed, and diminished also in its altitude, presenting numerous romantic inequalities beautified by the art of man. Here, amidst a wild wilderness, are extensive cane-fields and verdant pastures of Guinea grass. There, on the summit of a hill overlooking irrigated and verdant fields redeemed from the forest around, and adding a fresh charm to the landscape, stands some bold edifice in the midst of a cluster of substantial buildings resembling the lordly possessions of feudal times, whilst at a little distance, but half discovered amidst the thick foliage of the cocoa-nut groves which marked their site, and the purple darkness of the inland hills, appear groups of smiling villages. An extensive savannah next presents itself, partly covered with wild luxuriance, a stream of water rushing precipitately down the deep and darkly shaded ravines of the contiguous hills upon its level bosom; whilst in the distance the very summit of the cloud-capped mountains, now diverging from the shore crowned with deep woods and covered with perpetual verdure are disclosed, whilst beautiful mansions amidst pimento and coffee plantations, an imposing military establishment, with here and there a rural sanctuary lifting up its tall spire above, display themselves through their woody enclosure. Amidst these are cottages and buildings of diversified appearance and size variously distributed. A range of summits stretching far inland to the west, the Healthshire hills at the entrance of Port Royal harbour, an extensive promontory before us, and the almost illimitable horizon to the south, terminate the novel and stupendous scene.

In the interior of the island the splendour and beauty of the prospect is, if possible, increased. At every successive step the traveller seems to breathe a purer air and to survey a brighter scene. Here the barren, the fertile, the level and the inaccessible, are commingled. On the one side is seen a fine valley or glade, fertile and irrigated, stretching along the foot of craggy and desolate mountains covered with immense rocks slightly intermixed with a dry, arid, and unfruitful soil; on the other, a narrow and precipitous defile, or deep and gloomy cavern where the sun's rays never penetrate, both enclosed by abrupt precipices, overhanging rocks, and imperious woods. In this direction the country

is varied with ridges of low forest hills rising gradually from the horizon, flat, level, and standing detached like islands. Yonder an extensive valley presents itself as if enclosed by a lofty amphitheatre of wood along which a river flows, meandering until lost between two parallel lines of mountains, as though from the bosom of a vast lake, it had forced its passage through them to the sea.* In the more cultivated districts, as viewed from an eminence, the scene is lively and animating beyond description. The negroes in gangs are employed in the fields cutting canes or weeding pastures, numerous herds of oxen with other domestic animals graze on the shorn fields or browse on the verdant slopes; an endless diversity of hill, valley, mountain, and defile, interspersed with clusters of the bamboo cane and towering cocoa palms, which gracefully wave their feathery plumes in the breeze, corpses of underwood, pastures shaded with lofty trees, plantain-walks, ruins and extensive fields of sugar-cane, of fresh and variegated foliage, chequer and adorn the entire landscape. At a greater distance, the extensive and beautiful valley, rich in the products of the soil, opens to the eye. The morning mists which still partially hang over it, have the illusive appearance of a vast lake resting on its bosom, or a beautiful bay with its islands floating on the surface of the quiet waters. Behind are the majestic heights, losing themselves by degrees in the clouds, distributing light and shade in endless contrast, and presenting to the ravished eye a picture every moment glowing with new attractions. At a still greater distance appears the ocean with the shipping, its waters calm and unruffled, or tossed into fury by the winds. The high mountainous district in general presents to the beholder the sylvan beauties of coffee and pimento plantations, with groves of orange and other fruit trees, which at some seasons of the year breathe the perfumes of Arabia. Along the coast to the N. E., N. W., and S., as viewed from the sea, broken and irregular mountains rising from the midst of lesser elevations, their summits crowned with perpendicular rocks of every variety of shape and form which the wildest imagination can conceive, are contrast-

* Sixteen mile Walk between Spanish Town and Bog-walk Tavern in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.

ed with the beautiful and verdant clothing of the open glade, round-topped hills, smiling villages, numerous cascades, mountain streams and roaring cataracts. The unimaginable luxuriance of the herbage, the singular exotic appearance of all around, the green-house-like feel and temperature of the atmosphere, and the fresh flush of vegetable fragrance wafted from the shore, are all calculated to regale the senses, exhilarate the spirits, and diffuse through the soul a strange delirium of buoyant hope and joy. Jamaica, in a word, may be reckoned among the most romantic and highly-diversified countries in the world, uniting the rich magnificent scenery which waving forests, never-failing streams, and constant verdure can present, heightened by the pure atmosphere, and the glowing tints of a tropical sun.*

"Beautiful islands! where the green
Which nature wears was never seen
'Neath zone of Europe; where the hue
Of sea and heaven is such a blue
As England dreams not; where the night
Is all irradiate with the light
Of stars like moons, which, hung on high,
Breathe and quiver in the sky,
Each its silver haze divine
Flinging in a radiant line,
O'er gorgeous flower and mighty tree
On the soft and shadowy sea!
Beautiful islands! brief the time
I dwelt beneath your awful clime;
Yet oft I see in noonday dream
Your glorious stars with lunar beam;
And oft before my sight arise
Your sky-like seas, your sea-like skies,
Your green banana's giant leaves,
Your golden canes in arrowy sheaves,
Your palms which never die, but stand
Immortal sea-marks on the strand,—
Their feathery tufts, like plumage rare,
Their stems so high, so strange and fair!
Yea! while the breeze of England now
Flings rose-scents on my aching brow,
I think a moment I inhale
Again the breath of tropic gale."

The great series of mountains which intersects the island from east to west is, at its highest elevation, nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea; but there are other extensive ranges of inferior elevation sometimes connected with the larger series, and at other times independent of it. These mountains, some of which exhibit proofs of volcanic origin, vary in their elevation

from 2000 feet and upwards. The highest is the Coldridge, at the eastern extremity of the island;* the St. Catherine's Peak, to the north of Kingston; the Cedar-valley-ridge, in the county of Middlesex, and parish of St. Catherine, on which stands the village of Sligoville; the Bull's Head, in the parish of Clarendon, nearly in the centre of the island; the Dolphin's Head, in the neighbourhood of Lucea, in the parish of Hanover; and Yallahs Hill, on the southeast coast of the county of Surrey. In some of them are to be found magnificent natural excavations.

The rivers, including springs and rivulets, have been estimated at upwards of 200 in number—about 40 are of the largest class. From the mountainous nature of the country, and the huge masses of rock that frequently obstruct their course, they are often precipitous, and exhibit numerous and beautiful cascades, now flowing on in un murmuring peacefulness, and anon bursting headlong in the foam and thunder of a cataract. On the north side of the island, near to the spot immortalized by the shipwreck of Columbus and the city of Sevilla d'Oro, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld at the same moment. Very few of the rivers, however, are navigable. Among those that are available for this purpose, the principal is Black River, in the parish of Saint Elizabeth, which is navigable for thirty miles towards its source, but only by flat-bottomed boats and canoes. The others are the Rio Cobre and the Rio Minho, on the south; and Martha Brae, White, Ginger and Great River, on the north. Before leaving this subject it may be interesting to advert to two natural curiosities in St. Anne's parish, which Dr. Coke thus describes:—

"The first is a surprising cascade, formed by a branch of the Rio Alto, or High River, which is supposed to re-emerge (after a subterraneous current of several miles) between Roaring River Plantation and Menzies' Bog. The hills in this quarter are many of them composed of a stalactite matter; by whose easy solution the waters oozing through the rocks are copiously charged with it, so that they incrustate all bodies deposited in them. The

* A gentleman, on his return from Jamaica, being asked to describe its surface, (in imitation of Columbus when he described the appearance of Dominica to Isabella of Spain) did so by crumpling a sheet of paper in his hands—a representation than which nothing could give a better idea of the jagged and compressed appearance of its conical mountains.

* The summit of the Coldridge is said to be 8184 feet above the level of the sea.

source of this river is at a very considerable elevation above the level of the sea, and at a great distance from the coast. From thence it runs between the hills successively, broad or contracted, as they on each side approach nearer, or recede further from one another. In one of the more extended spaces it expands its water in a gentle descent among a very curious group of anchovy pear trees, whose spreading roots intercept the shallow stream in a multitude of different directions. The water thus retarded deposits its grosser contents, which, in the course of time, have formed various incrustations, around as many cisterns, spread in beautiful ranks, gradually rising one above another. A sheet of water, transparent as crystal, conforming itself to the flight of steps, overspreads their surface; and, as the rays of light or sunshine play between the waving branches of the trees, it descends glittering with a thousand variegated tints. The incrustation in many parts is sufficiently solid to bear the weight of a man; in others it is so thin that some persons, whose curiosity induced them to venture too far, found themselves suddenly plunged up to the waist in a cold bath. The sides of the cisterns, or reservoirs, are formed by broken boughs and limbs incrustated over; and they are supported by the trunks of trees promiscuously growing between them. The cisterns themselves are always full of water, which trickles down from one upon another; and although several of them are six or seven feet deep, the spectator may clearly discern whatever lies at the bottom.

"The laminæ which envelope them are in general half an inch thick. To a superficial observer their sides have the appearance of stone; but upon breaking any of them there is found either a bough between the two incrusting coats, or a vacant space which a bough had once filled, but which having mouldered away after a great length of time, had left the cavity. After dancing over these innumerable cisterns the pellucid element divides itself into two currents, and then falling in with other neighbouring rivulets, composes several smaller, but very beautiful falls.

"The other cascade, though so named by the inhabitants, may be more properly denominated a cataract, similar to that of the Rhine at Shaffhausen, in Switzerland.

It proceeds from the White River, which is of considerable magnitude; and, after a course of about twelve miles among the mountains, precipitates its waters in a fall of about 300 feet, obliquely measured, with such a hoarse and thundering noise that it is distinctly heard at a very great distance. Through the whole descent it is broken and interrupted by a regular succession of steps, formed by a stalactite matter, incrustated over a kind of soft chalky stone, which yields easily to the chisel. Such a vast discharge of water, thus widely agitated by the steepness of the fall, dashing and foaming from step to step with all the impetuosity and rage peculiar to this element, exhibits an agreeable, and, at the same time, an awful scene. The grandeur of this spectacle is also astonishingly increased by the fresh supplies which the torrent receives after the rainy seasons. At those periods the roaring of the flood, reverberated from the adjacent rocks, trees, and hills; the tumultuous violence of the cataract rolling down with unremitting fury; and the gloom of the overhanging wood, contrasted with the soft serenity of the sky, the brilliancy of the spray, the flight of birds soaring over the lofty summits of the mountains, and the placid surface of the basin at a little distance from the foot of the fall, form an accumulation of objects most happily blended together, and beyond the power of words to express. To complete this animating picture drawn by the hand of Nature, or rather of Nature's God, a considerable number of tall and stately trees, beautifully intermixed, rise gracefully from the margin on each side. The bark and foliage of these trees, are diversified by a variety of lovely tints; and from the basin itself two elegant trees of the palm species appear like two straight columns erected in the water, and towering towards the sky, planted at such equal distances from the banks on each side, that the hand of art could not have effected, by rule, more exactness and propriety in the positions.

"Another celebrated curiosity in this parish is the wonderful grotto near Dry Harbour, about fourteen miles west from St. Anne's Bay. It is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs a considerable way; it then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate so far that no person has yet ventured to discover

their termination. The entrance has a truly Gothic appearance: it exhibits the perpendicular front of a rock, having two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which seem as if they had been formerly doorways. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural niche about four feet in height, and as many from the ground. In this niche, it is conjectured, that a Madonna was placed at some early period of time; especially as there is a small excavation in the form of a basin at the foot of the niche, projecting a little beyond the surface of the rock, and seeming to be a proper reservoir for the holy water of the Roman Catholics. But this idea implies the workmanship of art, and that the grotto was anciently inhabited, neither of which circumstances is to be traced in Long's detailed description of the interior recesses, which does not materially differ from the descriptions of other grottos and subterraneous cavities in various parts of the globe."

In accordance with the original designation of the island, springs are abundant, especially in the parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew, St. Mary, St. George, and St. Anne. They are found amidst the highest mountains, and meander through almost every ravine: several of them possess medicinal properties, as the Milk River, in the parish of Vere, which is thus denominated from its warmth and colour. The bath-springs, two in number—one cold, the other hot—are in the parish of St. David, and give to the village in which they are found its designation—Bath. They are sulphureous and chalybeate, and have been found highly beneficial in several disorders, particularly in those of a cutaneous kind, and in visceral obstructions.

The water flows out from the hot spring at a temperature of 120. They are sub-fluvian, and would doubtless, if chemically investigated, disclose important geological phenomena. Bath is situated in one of the healthiest and most beautiful spots on the island, and is a great resort for invalids recovering from sickness. It is indeed considered of so much importance to the public, that it is supported by a yearly grant from the House of Assembly.

The harbours are numerous, and many of them are among the most secure and extensive in the West Indies. The principal of these are Kingston, Port Royal, Old

Harbour, Port Antonio, and Lucea. "The total number is sixteen, besides thirty bays, roads, or shipping stations, which afford good anchorage." Kingston is a vast basin, protected by Port Royal and a narrow strip of land called the Palisades, on the one hand, and the Healthshire Hills and the promontory, on which stands the battery of Fort Augusta, on the other. Port Royal is defended in a similar manner. Old Harbour, or the Sevilla d'Oro of Don Juan de Esquimel, which was the rendezvous of the Spanish galleons, has been denominated the best in the world; and but little inferior to these are the roads of Port Antonio and Lucea.

CHAPTER IV.

VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS.

Sugar-cane, Coffee, Cocoa, Pimento, Cotton—Indigo, Drugs, Corn, Grasses—Garden Vegetables—Fruit, Flowers, Trees—Animals: Wild, Domestic—Birds: Wild Fowl, Domestic—Fish—Reptiles—Insects.

THE vegetable and animal productions of the island are too numerous to detail. The principal of the vegetable productions is the sugar-cane, the "*arundo saccharifera*" of Linnæus. It was first introduced into St. Domingo about the year 1520 from Asia, where it had been cultivated from the earliest ages, and from thence into Jamaica in the early part of its settlement by the Spaniards. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, the edges of which are finely and sharply serrated. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. Its height is from three to seven feet, and, when ripe, is of a fine straw colour. At successive periods since the possession of the island by the British, several other varieties of this valuable plant have been introduced from the South Sea Islands and elsewhere. Having been the staple commodity of Jamaica and the other West India Islands for a series of years, the circumstances of its cultivation are too well and generally known to render a description necessary. In the highlands, and on the mountainous slopes, the coffee-plant flourishes in almost every variety of soil, and usually yields abundant crops. It would attain the height of fourteen or fifteen feet, but to increase its productiveness it is

seldom suffered to exceed four or five feet. The leaf is a dark green. It bears a profusion of white blossoms, and afterwards the berry covered with a red sweetish pulp. This valuable plant was introduced into Jamaica by Sir Nicholas Lawes in 1728, who cultivated it on his own estate called Temple Hall, in Liguana. The cultivation of cotton, indigo, and cocoa or chocolate, which were once valuable articles of export, have long since been discontinued, in consequence, as it is said, of the heavy duties with which they were charged. Of the sixty cocoa-walks which, according to Blome, existed in 1672, not one remains, and scarcely a trace of the once numerous indigo factories. Drugs, dye-stuffs, and spices of various kinds of excellent quality, here flourish in great profusion. Of corn, the Indian maize only is productive; oats, barley and Victoria wheat have been tried in the highlands, but have not been cultivated with success. The principal grasses cultivated are a valuable species accidentally introduced from Guinea, whence it derives its name, and the Scotch grass; among the indigenous varieties are the pimento and a delicate species, called the Bahama grass, of exquisite tint, and which, by throwing out elastic fibres, weaves itself into a verdant carpet which rivals in beauty the finest English lawn. Most of the European vegetables grow in the mountainous regions with comparatively little trouble and expense, and a succession of crops may be produced throughout the year—cabbages, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, cucumbers, leeks, radishes, carrots, lettuce, celery, asparagus, peas, potatoes, &c., &c. The only exceptions of importance are the onion and the cauliflower. But in addition to the European esculents are some of native growth by no means inferior, as the chocho, or vegetable marrow, ocro, Lima bean, Indian kale, tomato, or love-apple of the ancients, plaintains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calaloe (a species of spinach), cassada, and sweet potatoes.

The fruits of Jamaica are delicious and most abundant; and, as with the vegetables, every month presents a fresh collation. Some species are at maturity during the entire year; and not unfrequently are to be seen at the same time on the same tree blossoms and fruit in all stages of growth. There are the bread-fruit, the cocoa-nut, the avocado pear, the custard-apple,

the mango, the guava, the lime, the lemon, the orange, the citron, the shaddock, the tamarind, the soursop, the sweetsop, the Spanish plum, the guava, the cashew, the papaw, the pomegranate, the grape, the fig, the wall and chestnut, the mulberry, the naseberry, the star-apple, the date, the olive, the melon, the pine-apple, the grana-dilla, &c., &c. Few of the European fruits are to be found, except the apple and the strawberry, and these are degenerated both in size and flavour. In different parts of the island there is an adaptation of soil and climate to the vegetable productions of almost every region of the globe, and it is a matter of regret that hitherto such little attention has been paid to the improvement of horticulture. Among other plants much might be said of the advantages that would result from the cultivation of the sun-flower as a substitute for corn, as well as for medicinal purposes.

The trees of the island, of which there is almost an infinite variety, are peculiarly novel in their appearance to an European stranger; there is scarcely one which he can identify with any in his own land. Among the most beautiful, both for ornament and use, are the pimento or alspice-tree, the papaw, the tamarind, the cocoa, and the palmetto royal. The pimento attains considerable height, and is covered with a dark green foliage, often relieved by its delicate white blossom. The spice is a small berry which grows in bunches, and when ripe is like the elder-berry in size and colour. Even the leaves of this lovely tree, when pressed, emit a strong aromatic odour. In the country they are disposed in different compartments, or in groves crowning the hills and scattered down the declivities, exhibiting a clean verdant carpet of grass beneath. When swept by the breeze they shed their spicy fragrance through the air, imparting a charm to nature indescribable. So powerful, indeed, is the aromatic atmosphere of these groves, that they admit no herbaceous production to thrive within their shadow. The papaw produces a delicious fruit growing as a fungus below its capital of long stemmed, and broad green leaves. The tamarind, besides its fruit, with its umbrageous and delicate leaves affords a delicious shade both to man and beast. The cocoa or chocolate-tree is a native of South America. It somewhat resembles the English cherry-

tree, and requires a good soil as well as a moist and sheltered situation. The mango-tree (*Mangifera Indica*) resembles in form

[Cocoa-Tree.]



by its seed in an astonishing manner. Its elastic branches also bending downwards upon the loose muddy soil around, strike root and grow, and thus the original plant diffuses itself in every direction and form. The cedar, the mahogany, the black and green ebony, the *lignum vitæ*, the fustic, the logwood, are too well known to require description. In addition to these, and which are used in building and in ornamental cabinet-work, are the iron-wood, dog-wood, pigeon wood, green-heart, braziletto, mahoe, and bully-trees, some of which are so compact in grain that they will sink in water. The bread-nut, the wild lemon, the wild tamarind, and others of a softer description, are not less valuable for other purposes. Altogether there are fifty varieties of excellent timber available to the architect, the mill-wright, and the cabinet-manufacturer.

Many of the huge forest-trees display thousands of parasitical plants in endless varieties, with flowers of the most delicate and gorgeous hues. Some of the creepers entwine themselves round the trunks of these giants of the vegetable world, and, throwing out their tendrils from the branches on all sides, attach themselves to the ground, presenting the appearance of immense cables, as if designed to protect these kings of the forest from the fury of the elements.

Of all the plants of smaller growth, perhaps the bamboo cane is the most ornamental and useful. Nothing can present a more exquisitely beautiful appearance than clumps of these rising from eighty to a hundred feet in height, and yielding their graceful plumes to the breeze, while at the same time they afford shade and fodder for cattle, and supply some of the most essential wants of the husbandman.

Aromatic shrubs and flowers of every variety of size, and which are raised with difficulty in the hot-houses of England, cover the face of the ground; but generally speaking, they are "born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air." After the autumnal rains the whole interior of the country presents the appearance of an immense garden, while the surrounding atmosphere is perfumed with the most fragrant odour. Very few of the European varieties are cultivated, but they might be introduced with considerable success. It is lamentable that in a country where nature has lavished the choicest of

the horse-chestnut-tree: its fruit is about the size of a goose's egg, and some of its varieties not unlike an orlean plum in flavour. The palmetto royal, with its verdant capital of waving branches, which sometimes attains the height of upwards of 140 feet, furnishes also a delicious vegetable. The bombax ceiba, or silk-cotton-tree, the baobab, and the wild fig-trees, are of gigantic size. The ceiba, when hollowed out, has been known to furnish a boat capable of containing one hundred persons. The branches of the baobab, or great calabash, extending horizontally, are each, as with those of the ceiba, equal to a large tree. The most remarkable of the trees is the mangrove. It grows in inundated spots along the sea, and propagates itself

her beauties, and afforded such facilities of ornament, that so little taste has been displayed by the inhabitants, and so little inclination manifested to avail themselves of these advantages. Among the less attractive, indeed, but not less useful plants of the wilderness, is the wild pine, which, like the "lovely lotus in the boundless and arid wastes of Africa, enshrines in her bosom the crystal drop for the relief of the thirsty traveller."* Some of them are said to contain a quart of water, and will retain it in certain situations during weeks of drought. It was from these sources that the Maroons were supplied with refreshment during the extremities to which they were frequently reduced in their conflicts with the white inhabitants. The most lovely of the indigenous tribes are the granidilla, or double passion-flower; the night-blowing ceres; the African rose; and some of the species of convolvulus and acacia; the cassia alata, with its golden clusters; and the splendid mountain-pride. Of all the flowers of indigenous growth, however, none present such an assemblage of floral splendour as the great aloe (*agáve Americana*). When in blossom they have a most magnificent and striking appearance. The author has seen several in full blossom at one time. The spikes shoot out from the centre of the plant, to the height of from twelve to fifteen feet, and bear branches of flowers in a thyrsus. The flowerets are of a bright yellow colour, and of a tubular shape. Each spike produces hundreds of these brilliant ornaments of nature. Emphatically may it be said:—

"This is the land where citrons scent the gale,
Where dwells the orange in the golden vale,
Where softer zephyrs fan the azure skies,
Where myrtles grow and prouder laurels rise."

Of *wild animals* there were originally but eight species:—the monkey, the armadillo, the opossum, the peccari, the agouti, the alca, the muskrat, and the raccoon. The only kind of importance that now remains is the wild hog. A large species of this is numerous throughout the woods of the interior, and very destructive to provision-grounds. On this account, as well as for sport, they are sometimes hunted; but the animal being of immense size, and furnished with large tusks, such excursions are extremely dangerous to the assailants.

* Hodgson.

The domestic quadrupeds are of European origin, and thrive equally with those of the temperate zone. The drudgery of plantation-work, and the conveyance of produce to the barquidiers, is usually performed by oxen and mules.

It is notorious that, with the exception of the nightingale, or mocking-bird, (*turdus polyglottus*), that extraordinary phenomenon of animate nature, but few of the feathered tribe are distinguished by the variety and melody of their notes. Their plumage, however, is exquisitely beautiful, and their number, in addition to their variety in size and colour, affords a fine field for the gratifying pursuits of the ornithologist. The green parrot, the banana-bird, the green todie, the small martin, and the different species of the humming-bird, are the most attractive. The beauty and elegance of the latter, in form and plumage, defy description, exhibiting alternately, as it flutters and shifts its position to the sun, all the colours of the rainbow, in exquisite combination—now a ruby, now a topaz, now an emerald, now all burnished gold.

— "On their restless fronts
Bear stars illumination of all gems."

Some of them are not larger than a moderately-sized beetle, and weigh not more than twenty grains. The most beautiful is the long-tailed species. It has plumes of about six inches long, crossing each other and expanding themselves into a fan-shaped tuft. They are otherwise distinguishable by their long and slender bills. The mandibles of the bill are finely toothed, or serrated on their edges, and their tongues, which are capable of considerable extension, are terminated by a small fork. This beautiful bird might be much more appropriately called the Bird of Paradise than that which has now the honour to bear the name.

All European domestic fowls are abundant. Wild-fowl are to be found during some seasons of the year in countless numbers, and most of them are considered of delicious flavour. Here is the wild guinea-fowl, several varieties of the wild pigeon and dove, of the duck, the widgeon, the plover, the quail, the snipe, and the ortolan. The ring-tailed pigeon is considered the most exquisite of the winged species. Aquatic birds of the pelican, the flamingo, the gull, the stork, the heron, and the

crane kind, abound in the neighbourhood of the coast. Many carnivorous birds are found, but of the buzzard varieties (the cathartes of Wilson) only is known. This is vulgarly called the "John Crow." Though disgusting in its appearance, it is of such utility in clearing the country of putrescent carcases, that any person wantonly destroying one is by an act of the legislature subject to a penalty of three pounds sterling.

The sea-coast, rivers, bays, creeks, with the ponds of sea and fresh water, abound with fish. Of these the calipaver, the mullet, the king-fish, barracoota rock-fish, grouper, jew-fish, the white-bait, and the snapper, are the most delicious, equalling any of the best description in Europe. The flying-fish, the dolphin, the sword, the parrot, the sun, and the boneeto, are among the second class; and the john-adory, the cutlass, the old wife, the torpedo, and the porpoise, among the third.

The sea-monsters are the sea-cow, the devil-fish, and the shark. The sea-cow (*Trichechus manati*) is of enormous size, and resembles the animal from which it derives its name, both in its form and in the quality of its flesh. It is amphibious, and is often found grazing on the banks of rivers. The devil-fish is flat, of amazing breadth, and altogether disgusting in appearance. It is harpooned like the whale, and yields a valuable oil. Among these might with propriety be classed the sword-fish. One of these was caught in Kingston harbour some months since, measuring from the point of the sword to the tail 11 feet 10 inches; length of the sword 3 feet 5 inches; extreme breadth at the shoulder 1 foot 7 inches; weight 270 lbs. Sharks are numerous, and are of immense size and of great voracity. One of these monsters was caught some time ago near Old Harbour full 10 feet in length, and about the girth of the largest sized man. There were found in his stomach, on opening him, fifteen asses' hoofs and legs from the knee downwards, half an undressed cow-hide, rolled up for tanning, and a piece of beef of about six pounds' weight. Both sea and land turtle are plentiful, as also oysters, craw-fish, and land-crabs.

The oysters are small, and are usually found attached to the roots and stems of the mangrove, which, obtruding themselves into the sea, the oysters fasten upon them. This has given rise to the representation of oysters growing on trees. Turtle is plentiful in the neighbourhood of Kingston and Old Harbour: it feeds on sea-grass. The female lays an almost incredible number of eggs—it is supposed between 800 and 900. They are caught in nets, by the harpoon, or by the hand, by torchlight. When laid on the back they are incapable of effecting their escape. There are two or three species of the land-crab. That distinguished by the name of the mountain-crab, and which is found in particular districts on the north side of the island, has been considered the greatest delicacy in the world. The habits of these animals are remarkable. In their retreats in the mountain districts, which are generally about one or two miles from the beach, they inhabit the earth and the stumps of trees. They go down to the sea once a year to deposit their spawn, and perform their march in a straight line with the exactest order, allowing no obstacle that can be surmounted to obstruct their course, even climbing over houses and precipitous rocks. Here they remain until the young ones have attained sufficient size and strength for the journey, when they return to their habitations followed by the young fry. They begin to spawn in December and January, and during these months, until May, are considered fit for the table, but are in their greatest perfection in the season of moulting. Another species is found on the south side of the island, but of inferior quality. During the rainy season they swarm, and afford abundant food to the poorer classes of both town and country. By some creole families they are kept for months in barrels, or some other place of security, and, being fed with corn and the refuse of vegetables, are almost as great a delicacy as the mountain species. "These are often found in grave-yards, and feed and fatten on the dead. Hence, while in England the dead are said to be food for worms, in Jamaica they are represented as food for crabs.*"

Reptiles are numerous, but few of them are venomous. Among these are the nu-

* Asses and mules are imported in large numbers from the Spanish Main: probably this huge creature had supped heartily after a shipwreck.

* Martin's Colonies.

merous lizard tribe; the guano, the camelion, the galliwas, and the alligator, or caymen. Of snakes, the silver, the black and the yellow. Of the smaller reptiles, the centipede and the scorpion. The alligator is the giant of the *saurian* race; it infests the rivers and lagoons near the sea, and is frequently to be found in the neighbourhood of Kingston, Old Harbour, Salt River, and Alligator Pond, on the southern coast. They are from twelve to fifteen feet in length, and, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, do not hesitate, under certain circumstances, to attack man, as on the authority of the public prints, two or three individuals have been killed by them within the last three years. The female generally lays between thirty and forty eggs; she deposits them commonly in some sunny spot on the seabeach, covering them over with sand. They are hatched by the heat of the sun in about thirty days after they are laid, at which time both the male and female alligators return. As soon as the young ones are hatched they are borne by the female on her back into the sea, when she teaches them to swim. The eggs have a highly enamelled surface, are of a whitish colour, and about the size of those of the Muscovy duck. The smaller species of lizard is so domesticated that it may be considered a regular inmate of every dwelling, as are also centipedes and scorpions. The stings of the latter have been known to occasion death. Snakes will sometimes defend themselves against an attack by man, but their bite is rarely known to prove fatal. The yellow snake sometimes grows to the length of ten feet; it is remarkably indolent, and is killed and eaten by some of the African tribes. These reptiles are numerous in some districts, and not unfrequently infest dwelling-houses in the country. The writer has in two or three instances found them in houses which he has occupied, and once narrowly escaped having a black snake for his bedfellow. An occurrence of this kind is related as having actually taken place. A large yellow snake finding its way through the jealousies* of a plantation-house, coiled itself up on the bed in which a gentleman was sleeping; feeling something press heavily upon him in the morning, he opened his

eyes, and to his amazement and horror beheld a huge snake close upon his body. He was so terror-stricken that he could neither move nor call for assistance, and in this situation continued until relieved by a negro servant, who had come into his apartment to ascertain the cause of his not having left his room at his usual hour. It is scarcely necessary to add that the reptile atoned for its temerity by its life.

Insects crawl upon the ground and float in the atmosphere as numerous as dense forests, gloomy caverns, stagnant waters, and a tropical sun can quicken them into life. Ants, cockroaches, fire-flies, mosquitoes, sand-flies, chigoes, spiders, bees, and wasps. Ants cover the whole surface of the soil, and so completely infest the repositories of food, that the ingenuity of industrious and cleanly housewives is severely taxed for expedients to preserve them from their depredations. The white, or wood-ant, displays on a larger scale the arts and organization for which the species is so famed in England, and is particularly destructive to houses. Cockroaches are another formidable foe to domestic cleanliness and economy. The fire-fly is a beautiful and harmless insect, of a grayish colour, and about the size of a common beetle. It emits a brilliant light from two globular orbs just above the eye; and the millions of them that in the country flutter among the trees and in the cane-fields on a dark night have a most interesting appearance. They resemble a kind of second firmament of luminous points moving with all the eccentric courses of comets and meteoric balls, and with all the glory that tracks the shooting stars—

“And every hedge and copse is bright
With the quick fire-fly's playful light;
Like thousands of the sparkling gems
Which blaze in eastern diadems.”

The light which they emit is so considerable that the cruel practice exists among the negroes of making them subserve the use of candles by securing a number of them in a glass or other transparent vessel. The way in which they are most easily caught is by blowing a fiery stick, thus keeping up a kind of intermitting light similar to that produced by themselves. But of all the insect tribes the most annoying is the mosquito, especially to new-comers. It would appear that they have an aversion to blood in which the serum is in excess

* A large description of fixed Venetian blind.

through disease, or in which the blood is otherwise changed in its constituent principles; as it consists with universal experience that a European newly arrived is much more liable to their attacks than a native, or an individual who has been for any length of time in the country. It is scarcely distinguishable from the common gnat by ordinary observers. They sometimes fill the atmosphere; and, being furnished with a proboscis for puncturing the skin, attack the uncovered parts of the body, or those but slightly defended, and cover them with blisters, which create such an intolerable itching as have occasioned very serious consequences to the sufferers.

As a necessary protection against their attacks by night, the beds are commonly surrounded by curtains of light gauze, or, as it is called, mosquito-net. In some situations, owing to their numbers and the fierceness of their attacks, the sensation they produce is scarcely endurable; and the only means of obtaining partial relief is by kindling a fire, and creating clouds of smoke. The bite of the small black spider and tarantula is sometimes fatal. The cell of the latter is perhaps one of the greatest of natural curiosities. Bees are numerous; and, if cultivated and preserved from ants and other enemies, would become a source of considerable profit.

The sand-fly is a very minute dipterous insect, which abounds on the sea-shore. It is formidable from its numbers; puncturing the skin in the same manner as the mosquito, and occasioning the same sensations as that insect.

The chigo is a species of *acarus*. It penetrates the skin of the toes and feet; once secured in the cavity it has thus formed, it constructs a bag or nest,—there deposits its eggs, and hatches a numerous progeny. The bag is extracted by a needle; and, when full grown, is of the size and appearance of a blue pea. If suffered to remain in the flesh for any length of time, its progeny would so augment, each young one producing a separate bag, as to occasion violent inflammation, and probably amputation of the limb.

The guinea-worm (*filaria aredinensis*) a dangerous and disgusting animal, is parasitic in man. It has been found in negroes imported from Africa from six to twelve feet in length. It is usually found in the

thick part of the leg, or round the eye, and sooner or later destroys the life of its victim.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISIONS.

Counties — Parishes — Roads — Towns — Villages — Houses; exterior appearance and interior arrangement.

THE island is divided into three counties—Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall; and these are subdivided into twenty-three parishes. It contains six towns and twenty-seven villages, independently of those which have been recently established by the peasantry. The principal of the old settlements are St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, the capital; Kingston, Port Royal, Montego Bay, Falmouth, Savanna-la-Mar, Lucea, Morant Bay, Port Antonio, Annotto Bay, Port Maria, St. Anne's Bay, Black River, and Old Harbour.

Spanish Town is situated on the banks of the Rio Cobre, nearly at the extremity of a noble plain, bounded by the Cedar Valley Mountains on the N. and N.W., and is six miles distant from the sea at Port Henderson and Passage Fort. A large square occupies the centre of the town, formed by public buildings in the Spanish American style, which are extensive, and display considerable architectural taste. Government House—including beneath the same roof the Council Chamber, Court of Chancery, and various other offices—occupies the whole of the west side. It is considered the most substantial and commodious of any building of a similar kind in the West Indies, and was erected by the colonists at the cost of 50,000*l*. A range of equal extent, called the House of Assembly, but which includes the County Court-House, and the offices of judicial and other functionaries, stands directly opposite. At one end of the northern range is the Arsenal and Guard-House; at the other, the offices of the Island Secretary, connected by a temple that contains a statue of Lord Rodney, erected in commemoration of his victory over the French fleet in 1782, and a beautiful semicircular colon-

nade. Corresponding with this, to a considerable degree, is a range on the south side, containing magnificent rooms for public amusements, and offices for miscellaneous public purposes. A considerable portion of the area thus formed contains a garden in beautiful order, intersected by gravel walks. Ornamented by choice trees, flowers, and shrubs, and protected from spoliation by elegant palisades, it creates a rational source of recreation and amusement to the *élite* of the town, for which they are indebted to the taste and public spirit of Mr. Custos Ramsay. The Barracks, the Church, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the premises of the Baptist Missionary Society, in addition to a few beautiful villas that adorn the suburbs of the town, are the principal objects of attraction to the stranger. The population is estimated at about 10,000.

Kingston, the great commercial city, and which contains a population of about 40,000 inhabitants, stands on a gentle slope of the Liguanea Mountains (immediately in the rear), which form a part of the highest ridge of the Blue Mountain chain. It is terminated on the east by a small battery, called Rock Fort; on the west by an extensive lagoon on the road to Spanish Town and Passage Fort; and on the south by Fort Augusta and the narrow channel by which it is approached from Port Royal, from the latter of which it appears almost enclosed by a semicircular ridge of mountains.

The streets are long, formed in straight lines, intersecting each other at right angles. As with Jamaica towns in general, many of the streets are narrow and dirty; and all of them being at the same time unpaved, and infested with domestic animals, reflect but little credit on the city authorities. The houses of the principal inhabitants are chiefly two stories high, and are enclosed with spacious verandahs in the French and Spanish style. The Church,* the Chapels of Ease, the Scotch Kirk, two of the Wesleyan and one of the Baptist chapels, are large, substantial, and beautiful buildings, as are also the Court House, the Military Establishment at Up Park Camp, and the villas, half hidden by the

aromatic trees and shrubs that adorn the skirts of the town, and the slopes of Liguanea.

Port Royal occupies the extremity of the narrow peninsula which is connected with the main land on the east of Kingston and Port Royal harbours. The town, but a miserable wreck of its former greatness, is ornamented with several large and beautiful buildings belonging to the naval and military departments, together with some handsome and capacious private houses. It presents an imposing appearance from the sea; groves of cocoa-nut trees in stately columns, waving their verdant branches among the buildings; but the streets are irregular and narrow, and the town altogether possesses but little claim to cleanliness. Once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the New World, it is now perhaps the poorest and most wretched; an occurrence which, owing to the short-sighted policy of the Legislature, and the "spirit and manners of the age," was consummated by the removal of the dockyard to Canada, and its consequent abandonment as the chief naval station in the West Indian and North American colonies.

Montego Bay towards the N.W. extremity of the island, and the chief town of the parish of St. James, is situated nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, opening only in one direction towards the sea. It is considered a flourishing and opulent town; the private buildings are in general neat and picturesque, having usually a garden in front, displaying flowering shrubs, shaded by aromatic trees. The streets are wide and tolerably clean. With the exception of the Baptist Chapel, the Court House, and the parish church, it contains no public buildings of magnitude and importance. The square and the market-place are spacious and conveniently situated, but require a little more of the elaborations of art to render them agreeable as places of resort, whether for purposes of business or pleasure.

Falmouth, formerly Martha Brae, stands on the west side of the Harbour, and is the chief town and sea-port of the parish of Trelawney. It is of considerable magnitude, and is increasing both in extent and commerce. The houses are mostly built of wood, and are two stories high, neat in external appearance, but, as is the case in general on the north side of the

* Beneath the altar of the church lies Admiral Benbow, and in another burying-place is a tomb which bears the arms and name of the noble family of the Talbots.

island, exhibiting a very unfinished interior. The character of the town is American. It contains some good public buildings, among which are the Church, the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels, the Scotch Kirk, the Court House, and the Barracks. It possesses also the convenience of a supply of fresh water for domestic purposes by means of an hydraulic machine. As at Montego Bay, the stores and shops are well supplied with merchandise, and the town presents a clean and rural appearance.

Intersected by several fine rivers, and nearly surrounded by mountains and hills enclosing a highly cultivated district, the neighbourhood of Savanna-la-mar is interesting if not imposing, but the town, the principal one of the parish of Westmoreland, situated on an alluvial flat on the beach, is low and unhealthy. It was once nearly destroyed by an earthquake, and seems now ready to submerge in the sea. Some good and substantial houses occupy the principal street, which runs in a straight line from the shore, and some pleasant villas are seen in the suburbs, but it is not distinguished for its public buildings, or its social and parochial regulations. The Baptist Chapel, a neat and substantial building, was lately destroyed by fire, but it has been rebuilt, and is an ornament to the town. Lucea, Saint Anne's Bay, Port Maria, and Port Antonio, the chief town of the parish of Hanover, St. Anne's, St. Mary, and Portland are next in consideration, all of which are increasing rapidly in extent and importance, and are among the most picturesque and improving on the island.

The houses in general are of various style and construction. In the country they are built chiefly of wood. In some instances they are raised on a foundation of stone, in others on pedestals of stone or wood from two to six feet from the ground. The buildings of estates are usually of stone, and in the towns on the south side of the island they are principally of stone or brick. For the admission of light and air, some are protected from the sun and rain, either wholly or in part, by jealousies, or by these and sash windows, with Venetian blinds. To most of the houses is attached either a piazza enclosed by jealousies or an open colonnade. These, being usually painted green and white, pre-

sent a neat and interesting appearance. The inner apartments commonly consist of a spacious hall, a sitting-room, with bedrooms, and other smaller apartments; many of them are elegantly furnished, and exhibit floors of polished mahogany and cedar. The kitchen, accommodation for the servants, and rooms for domestic and other purposes, are situated at a distance from the dwelling-house, or are, at least, detached from it, and usually form three sides of a square in the rear of the dwelling-house, leaving a court-yard in the centre, shaded by an umbrageous tree. Altogether, the interior of the towns and villages in the island is far from being prepossessing to a stranger, especially as compared with the towns and villages of the other islands, exhibiting the unsightly aspect of dirty streets, noisy inhabitants, and miserable hovels intermixed with substantial and spacious houses. In their external appearance, however, most of the towns and villages present to the eye of an European a picture inexpressibly refreshing and lovely, adorned by the cocoa-nut-tree, the palm, the orange, the shaddock, the lime, together with the umbrageous tamarind, the box, and the kenap, which intercept the fierce rays of the sun, and afford a shadow which the panting inhabitants both appreciate and enjoy; whilst, in their suburbs studded with sugar and coffee plantations, the eye roams over fields of fresh and vivid green, every where interspersed with groves of towering cocoa-palms, plantains, and bananas of rich and variegated foliage, mingled with plants and flowering shrubs of every diversity of form, tint, and perfume.

The *Roads* in Jamaica are a disgrace to a civilized community, and militate considerably against its agricultural prosperity. Immense sums of money are annually voted from the parochial taxes and the general revenue for their repair, but to little purpose. Even the lines of communication between the principal towns are very little better than river courses, which place the life of every traveller in jeopardy. Deaths from this cause indeed are of frequent occurrence. Proposals were made by the legislature at its last sitting to remedy this great public inconvenience; and it is hoped that the arrangements for the purpose will be economical, effective, and permanent.

The whole island presents evident appearances of volcanic origin,* and on the summit of one of the mountains in the parish of St. George, about 3000 feet above the level of the sea, there exists the appearance of an extinct crater. It has never been known, however, to exhibit any volcanic action. Great variety of soil is found in the island. In some districts it is chalky and calcareous, in others, a brick loam of a chocolate colour prevails. Some of the hills are composed of a red uncohesive earth containing a mixture of carbonate of iron. A deep black vegetable mould and a purple loam of extraordinary vigour usually occurs in valleys in the immediate neighbourhood of the high mountain ranges. This quality of soil is not unfrequently found in other situations, and is best adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane and coffee. In the mountain districts a substratum of dark rich mould of considerable depth is found studded with large masses of lime-stone rock, usually cultivated as provision-grounds. A fine earth is found by the Rio Cobre in Spanish Town, as also in the neighbourhood of Kingston, from which excellent bricks are made. Many of the mountains are covered with lime-stone, and in some places on the coast they oppose an abrupt barrier to the sea. They consist generally of secondary lime-stone, associated with deposits of sand-stone, and are commonly of calcareous formation. In addition to the white lime-stone as one of the principal rocks, is the graywacke and the trap-rock, the latter of which indicates the action of fire. Bastard marble, subcrystalline spar, and lamellated amianthus, occur in some of the parishes in large masses. Marl is formed in many parts of the island, and strata of argillaceous earth. Whole mountains are also composed entirely of carbonate of lime. Rock-spar is abundant in the parish of St. Anne; and in other parts, white

free-stone and quartz. The former on the north side of the island forms whole strata, and constitutes rocks of amazing magnitude. Maritime and land shells abound in the great alluvial plains, and coral banks, and madrepores, those magnificent ornaments of the sea, are found in several parts near the coast, as are numerous vestiges of organic bodies; whilst on the tops of the mountains both animal and vegetable fossils of an extraneous kind occur. Caves and caverns, some of them of very considerable extent, and which are supposed to be connected with the early history of the aboriginal inhabitants, are numerous, and would abundantly repay the investigations of the geologist.

Several varieties of lead and iron ores are contained in the mountains of Liguanea near Kingston, as also several species of copper ores and striated antimony. A lead-mine was opened some years since in the same parish; but it was discontinued, more, it is supposed, on account of want of enterprise and public spirit than from any deficiency either in the quality or abundance of the mineral. A copper-mine in the same neighbourhood is now in progress of being worked, and, *if prosecuted with vigour*, promises considerable pecuniary advantages to the company by whom its operations are undertaken. "The Heathshire hills," says Bridges, "are reported to have furnished the copper which composed the bells of the Abbey church in Spanish Town."

Particles of golden mica have been found in districts near the source of the Rio Cobre, and sometimes, near Spanish Town, it has been seen incorporated with potter's clay. Gold and silver particles were evidently found in different parts of the country by the Spaniards, especially in the bed of the Rio Mina in Clarendon, as the remains of lavaderos or basins are still to be seen in which they were cleaned from their soluble and extraneous cohesions.

Situated within eighteen degrees of the equator, it will naturally be conceived that the *climate* is of a higher temperature than that of Europe. The thermometer ranges in the lowlands, throughout the year, between 70° and 80° of Fahrenheit, and in the mountains variously, according to their elevation, from 50° to 75°. Were it not for the sea and land breezes, which blow the greater part of the day and night, al-

* "The appearance of these tropical islands," says the estimable author of 'A Winter in the West Indies,' "rising suddenly from the sea, and forming steep pyramidal elevations, sometimes of bare rock, other times covered with greenness, leads one to trace their existence to some vast impulse from below. There can be little doubt, I suppose, that they are in general of volcanic origin; and that they are not of that fathomless antiquity to which some of the geological strata pretend, is plainly evinced by the circumstance that the fossil shells and corals, which are found embedded in their mountain tops, are often precisely the same kinds as are still discovered in the Caribbean seas."

ternately, throughout the year, and the masses of cloud which often interpose between the fierce rays of the sun, the heat in the towns on the coast, during some seasons of the year, would be almost insupportable. The sea breeze usually blows on the south side of the island, from the south-east. It commences in the morning and gradually increases until the middle of the day; it then diminishes, and dies away at about five o'clock. The land breeze usually sets in between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, increasing until midnight, and ceases about four in the morning. The former of these breezes is occasioned by the cold air moving towards those parts in which the air is rarefied by the sun's heat; and the latter by the hot rarefied air of the plains ascending to the summits of the mountains, where, being condensed by cold, and made consequently specifically heavier, it descends back in a current to the lowlands. The balmy freshness and salutary influences of these currents can scarcely be conceived by those who have never experienced the fervent heat of the torrid zone.

The air is usually buoyant and elastic, almost uniformly equal in pressure, and exerting an enlivening influence on the spirits. The temperature of the mountains alternates at some periods of the year eight or ten degrees; but, unlike many parts of the United States, in the same degree of latitude, it is not subject to sudden transitions. The coolest and most pleasant months range from November to April, and the hottest and most insalubrious from May to October.

During the intervals that elapse morning and evening, between the blowing of the sea and land breezes, as well as during the middle of the day, at all seasons of the year, the heat in the lowlands is dreadfully oppressive, but in the earlier hours of the morning, from four to seven o'clock, the coolness, freshness, and fragrancy of the air is delightful. Owing to the great rarity of the atmosphere there is no twilight, and the shortest day is of two hours' less duration than the longest, thus averaging twelve hours from January to December. There is a difference of four hours and a half in the time of Jamaica and England. When it is eight o'clock A.M. in London it is half past twelve P.M. in Kingston. The thermometer of Fahrenheit seldom varies

throughout the whole year more than ten degrees. In the hottest months, on the plains, the difference between the temperature of noonday and midnight is not greater than six degrees. The medium temperature of the air may be said to be 75° of Fahrenheit. In the hottest months, July and August, it is sometimes as high as 100° in the shade, and in the mountains it has been known as low as 49°.

Considerable variation is observable in different parts of the island in the *seasons of the year*. Some individuals divide them into four, as in Europe, but generally they are distinguished by wet and dry. The wet seasons range from May to June and from October to November. They are usually preceded, especially in the spring, by coruscations of lightning and peals of thunder, reverberating from peak to peak of the distant mountains, truly appalling to a stranger in the tropics. The horizon thickens with lurid clouds that roll their dense masses along the troubled atmosphere; suddenly the tempest bursts; the rain falls in torrents—sometimes almost without intermission for eight or ten successive days, at other times during a period of several hours each day through several weeks. In the former case torrents dash down the ravines of the mountains with dreadful impetuosity, tearing up huge forest trees in their course, forming hundreds of cascades, rendering rivers impassable, and deluging the towns and villages of the plains. Fifty inches of water, it is estimated, fall on an average throughout the year. The war of elements, as it has been often witnessed at these seasons by the writer, from the summit of a high mountain chain, is awfully and almost inconceivably imposing. Vast masses of clouds are collected, and stand like pyramids on the surrounding eminences. A black volume, deeply charged with electricity, passes majestically along, when suddenly pierced by the spiral tops of the fixed groups it acts on them like the discharges of an electric jar, and streaming and vivid lightning pours in all directions through the vast expanse, tearing immense forest trees to atoms, and carrying swift destruction in its course. At length the clouds disperse, and the clear blue sky appears—the glorious sun again flings abroad his beams, and the tropical summer reigns in all its glory. The sky is now tranquil, and all nature is dressed

in her richest livery. Nor is the night now less serene and beautiful; not a cloud floats over the azure sky; the stars shed their light with but little scintillation; the splendid southern constellation nearly encircles the heavens. Venus, like the moon, throws her shadows from the greater objects around, and the sovereign of night, assuming an almost vertical position, seems to rule as mistress of a milder day. There are, perhaps, but few places on the globe to which these lines of Homer can apply with greater exactness than to a West Indian summer's night:—

"As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light:
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole:
O'er the dark trees a yellower lustre shed,
And tip with silver every mountain's head:
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light."

With proper attention to dress and diet, with temperance in the use of food, fruit, and wholesome beverage; with care against exposure to the mid-day rays of the sun; with moderate exercise of body and mind, together with other cautions which common prudence will suggest to every reflecting mind—the climate is by no means so insalubrious, nor is the heat so oppressive, as is generally supposed, being more characterized by its duration than its intensity. The reported unhealthiness of the climate has arisen, in a great measure, from the frequent and excessive mortality of the troops—for obvious causes a very unfair criterion by which to judge. Nor is it to be estimated by its past influence on European life in general, as it would probably appear, on investigation, that the mortality has been in most cases occasioned by intemperance or imprudence.*

* Mr. Long remarks, with considerable *naïveté*, and not a little truth, that "The European keeps late hours at night; lounges a-bed in the morning; gormandizes at dinner on loads of flesh, fish, and fruits; loves poignant sauces; dilutes with ale, porter, punch, claret, and Madeira, frequently jumbling all together; and continues this mode of living, till by constantly manuring his stomach with such an heterogeneous compost, he has laid the foundation for a plentiful crop of ailments. Not that this portrait serves for all of them: there are many who act on a more rational plan; though almost all transgress in some point or other. They who have attained to the greatest age here were always early risers, temperate livers in general, inured to moderate exercise, and avoiders of excess in eating."

In the mountainous regions it will probably vie in point of salubrity with that of any tropical climate in the world; an opinion sustained by Dr. Adolphus, Her Majesty's late inspector-general of hospitals in Jamaica, and by Sir James Clark, Her Majesty's physician: the one from personal experience and observation, the other in his work on the sanitive influence of climate. Sir James Clark recommends it as a safe temporary retreat* to invalids in the early stages of consumption. The principal disease to which Europeans are here subject are fevers and dysentery, both of which might be considerably alleviated, if not in some instances avoided, by timely precaution. The author has personally known several persons, both white, coloured, and black, who have attained the age of from one hundred to one hundred and forty years. On these accounts, and for reasons relating to temporal circumstances, there is perhaps no part of the world to which European farmers, with small capital and large families, could so advantageously emigrate. The following precautions, by the Rev. M. Hough, B.A., formerly a missionary in the East Indies, with a few alterations, may be rendered applicable to the West.

"I have said that life is often endangered by imprudence as well as other causes. This suggests a few observations that may be useful to future missionaries. Many good men, by inattention to their health and heedless exposure to the sun, have incapacitated themselves for labour almost as soon as they have arrived. A missionary may not immediately feel any inconvenience from the heat, but he should not too readily calculate upon exemption from its usual influence upon the European constitution. The power of a vertical sun

* Sir James, in speaking of the climate of Jamaica, says—"The temperature of the mountainous districts, averages, from January to April, in the early morning, 55 degrees; in the afternoon, 70. From April to June, 60; in the afternoon, 75. From June to September, 65; in the afternoon, 80. From September to December, 68; in the afternoon, 75. This may be considered the mean temperature of a series of years." (P. 313.)—He adds—"Convalescents from other parts of the island often derive considerable benefit from a residence of a few weeks only in this region. It is also a safe temporary retreat for consumptive as well as other invalids. Lucrea, also, has a high reputation for salubrity among the inhabitants, and is often resorted to by convalescents. The climate is cool and pleasant, except during the months of July, August, and September." (P. 314.)

is indescribable, and very few persons indeed are able with impunity to expose themselves to its fervid rays. A missionary should never go out uncovered during the day. In moving about among the schools and other objects requiring his attention in the immediate vicinity of his home, he ought always to hold an umbrella over his head; and when his duties call him to any distance, he should go if possible in a *covered vehicle*. *To walk a mile in a tropical sun, with the heat reflected upon you from the ground, and burning your feet as well as scorching you from above*, will generally exhaust the powers of the body, and consequently depress the energies of the mind to such a degree as to render you incapable of attending to the duty you went to perform.

"In tropical climates *regularity* is the grand secret of health. Regularity in *everything*—in exercise, rest, food, and study. In most European constitutions the stomach soon becomes deranged by the excessive heat and change of diet; but its health is most likely to be preserved by a careful attention to the wholesome quality of food, by moderation in the quantity, and regularity in the hours of repast. In his native land a healthy person may despise such precautions, finding them to be unnecessary; but to neglect them in hot countries will soon prove fatal to the constitution.

"*Exercise* should be taken in the cool of the day, before sun-rise, and about sunset. The morning is greatly to be preferred, as the air is then fresh and the ground cool from the dew; whereas in the evening, both are often too much heated to refresh you. In order, therefore, to preserve your health, and keep yourself fresh and active for your important work, you should always be out at day-break, and home again if possible before the sun has been up half an hour. I have frequently felt exposure to the sun for the first half-hour of the day deprive me of the refreshment received from the previous exercise. Journeys should always be performed early in the morning or towards the decline of the day. To enable you to rise at an early hour you should retire early to rest, otherwise you may suffer as much inconvenience from the want of sufficient sleep as from any other cause.

"The degree and description of exercise

to be taken must be regulated by every individual's constitution; in general, *gentle* exercise is most conducive to the preservation of health. It is of great importance to attend to the first symptoms of indisposition. A slight headache might be attended with fatal consequences if neglected, as it would generally arise from some obstruction of the system."

Let not these hints be thought irrelevant to our present design. The necessity of attending to his health cannot be too forcibly impressed on a missionary's mind, and cannot be more appropriately given than in a missionary work.

*Storms and Hurricanes** are less frequent in Jamaica than in Barbadoes and some of the other Caribbean islands, or even than they were in Jamaica formerly. They, however, occasionally occur, carrying devastation and misery in their train. To one of these awful visitations of the Almighty, although by no means so terrible and destructive as those which occurred in 1786 and 1815, the author was an eyewitness. It began its desolating course in the middle of the night, and, with the exception of a few short intervals, during which it seemed to be gathering fresh energy in order to renew its assaults with greater violence, continued until nearly the middle of the following day.

It was preceded by an awful stillness occasionally broken by an indistinct sound resembling the roaring of a cataract, or the blowing of winds through a forest, by an intermission of the diurnal breeze,—by an almost insupportable heat, the thermometer standing at between 95° and 100° of Fahrenheit,—by vast accumulations of vapour moving in the direction of the mountains,—by flocks of sea-gulls,—by a deep portentous gloom gradually increasing and overspreading the hemisphere,—by all the omens, indeed, which are said to be their precursors. From three o'clock until nearly the break of day, the lightning was terrific beyond description; illuminating the whole concave of heaven, and darting apparently in ten thousand fantastic forms, whilst the reverberations of the thunder, echoed back by the distant moun-

* Hurricanes are so called from the Indian word *hurrica*. They are violent tempests of wind, which generally happen a day or two before the full or new moon next the autumnal equinox in August and September.

tains, seemed to shake the pillars of the earth, as if commissioned to seal the doom of the world. The rain descended in torrents, and an awful, deep, and compact gloom overshadowed the face of nature. The morning of the deluge could scarcely have presented an aspect more dismal. It was a period of fearful suspense and terror. The wind began to blow from the north, but on attaining the acme of its violence, it blew from all parts of the compass, and carried ruin on its wings. In every direction were dismantled houses, shattered fences, uprooted trees, and the ground strewn with shingles, splinters, branches of trees, fruit, and leaves. The writer's garden was a wilderness, and his dwelling house shook to its foundation. Every habitation around was closed, every crevice filled up, and every tenant in total darkness. All business was of course suspended, and not an individual to be seen but at intervals, when one cautiously appeared to acquaint himself with his situation, and to view the desolation around. Nothing was to be seen or heard but the pelting of the storm and the continued sighs of elemental tumult.

"Venti vis

*Interdum rapido percurrunt turbini compos
Arboribus magno sternit montesque supremo,
Silvefragis vetat flabris."* Lucretius, lib. I., 1272.

The last earthquake in Jamaica was that of 1692, which engulfed Port Royal; shocks, however, are of very common occurrence, some of such severity as to excite considerable alarm and occasion serious injury. One of the most appalling that has occurred for many years was experienced in the month of February last, which, in conjunction with the unexpected appearance of a comet and the dreadful calamity, in which these awful dispensations of Divine Providence have lately involved several of the windward islands, has created an alarm which it is hoped will operate beneficially upon society at large.

* "Oft through the ravaged plain

The sudden whirlwind sweeps the furious gale,
O'erthrows majestic trees, and with strong blasts,
Vexes the lofty mountains."

CHAPTER VI.

POPULATION.

Census of the different Parishes, Stock, Land in Cultivation, Agriculture, Horticulture—Improvements, Implements, Machinery—Present defective State of Husbandry—Thoughts on Immigration.

THE number of aboriginal inhabitants on the first possession of the island by the Spaniards has been variously estimated. According to some writers they amounted to several hundred thousand; according to others from sixty thousand to one hundred thousand. But to the everlasting infamy of the Spanish name, it is recorded that the whole of this immense mass of human beings was entirely exterminated within fifty years of their subjection to their lawless invaders. As previously stated, the first Spanish colony was established by Don Juan d'Esquimel, under the authority of Diego Columbus, and consisted of seventy persons. At successive periods this number was increased, although subject to frequent variations, so that on the conquest of the island by Penn and Venables, the Spanish and Portuguese amounted to 1500, with an equal number of negroes and mulatto slaves. Under the British the population rapidly increased, exhibiting in the short space of seven years a total of 2600 men, 645 women, 408 children, and 552 negroes, with 2917 acres of land under cultivation.

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the mother country during the period of the Commonwealth and the early years of the Restoration, the tide of immigration was very considerable. The total number of slaves imported to Jamaica since the conquest of the island to the abolition of the slave trade in 1805 was 850,000, and this, added to 40,000 brought by the Spaniards, makes an aggregate of 890,000, exclusive of all births since that period. Immediately after the abolition of the slave trade, the slave population varied from 300,939 to 322,421.* To the great dis-

* According to the return of the Compensation Commissioners in July, 1835, the number of slaves for which compensation was given was 311,692. Of these about 30,000 were children under six years of age, and of the remainder a little more than one-fifth were non-prædials. The free coloured and black people were estimated at 40,000. Estimating these at 4*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* on an average gave 6,161,927*l.* to Jamaica, as its share of the 20,000,000*l.* compensation, being one-third of the total amount.

credit of the public authorities, no accurate census of the island has been taken for many years, and thus no correct statement can be made respecting it at the present time. It is, however, generally supposed that the aggregate population, including 30,000 whites, is now half a million, which is about seventy persons to a square mile. This proportion is small compared with that in other parts of the world, and even with Barbadoes, where there are 600 to a square mile; so great, however, is the annual increase of population, as to encourage the hope that in a few years it will be more than double. Even at the present time it is fully equal to the demand made upon it for agricultural purposes as well as to the means of its equitable requital.

The *stock* required for agriculture and domestic purposes are oxen, horses, mules, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, and several European domestic animals. Oxen and mules are almost exclusively used in agriculture, and are generally equal in size and strength to those of Europe. Horses, except by small settlers and draymen or carriers, are principally used for the saddle or drawing gigs and other light conveyances. Mules* are of great value to

the planter, being much more capable of continuous labour than the other beasts of burthen, less choice in their food, and less subject to the casualties of disease. They are imported from England, America, and the Spanish Main, as are also horses, horned cattle, and sheep. Considerable numbers, however, of all descriptions are reared in the colony. The price of a steer for agricultural purposes is about 13*l.* (\$63), and of one fattened for the market from 9*l.* to 10*l.* (\$44 to \$48) and upwards. Beef is from 6*d.* to 7*d.* per lb. (12 to 14 cents); veal at 1*s.* (25 cents). Horses, according to their size and breed, may be had at prices varying from 12*l.* to 100*l.* (\$55 to \$450), and mules from 15*l.* to 50*l.* (\$65 to \$220) and upwards.

Sheep have a degenerated appearance compared with those of England, but their flesh is savoury. When well managed they are very prolific, and, consequently, a considerable source of profit to the grazier—30*s.* is the usual price of a full-grown wether, and the mutton is retailed at 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb. Goats and hogs are also abundant: the former are kept chiefly for their milk. Pork is of a very superior flavour, and is sold at 7½*d.* per lb. Rabbits thrive in hutches, but are seldom raised in sufficient numbers for the market. The price of a full-grown turkey is from 12*s.* to 16*s.* (\$3 to \$4); a goose from 10*s.* to 12*s.* (\$3 to \$4); a Muscovy duck, 5*s.* (\$1 25); a common fowl, 2*s.* 6*d.* (62½ cents); a Guinea fowl, 4*s.* (\$1); pigeons, 2*s.* (50 cents) per pair; eggs, 1*s.* 6*d.* (31 cents) per dozen.* Of dogs, the real Spanish blood-hound, and those of the various European and Spanish breeds, are a usual

* Although this animal, like the species in other parts of the world, is often vicious and untractable, it generally finds its match in the ingenuity and adroitness of its negro rider. The following occurrence, with some slight alterations, is related by the captain of a merchant-vessel:—"The negro boys are the most cunning urchins I have ever had to do with. While my vessel was lying at St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica, I had to go to Port Maria to look for some cargo; and on my way thither, near Oracabessa, I came to one of the numerous small rivers that empty themselves into the little bays along the coast. When at some distance, I observed a negro boy flogging his mule most severely, but before I got up, he had dismounted and appeared in earnest talk with his beast, which, with fore-legs stretched out firm, and ears laid down, seemed proof against all arguments to induce him to enter the water. Quashie was all animation, and his eyes flashed like fire-flies. 'Who-o! you no go ober; bery well—me bet you fippenny me make you go. No? Why for you no bet? Why for you no go ober?' Here the mule shook his ears to drive away the flies, which almost devour the poor animals in that climate. 'Oh! you do bet—berly well; den me try.'" The young rogue (he was not more than ten years old) disappeared in the bush, and returned in a few seconds with some strips of fanweed, a few small pebbles, and a branch of the cactus plant. To put three or four pebbles in each of the mule's ears, and tie them up with the fanweed, was but the work of a minute. He then jumped on the animal's back, turned round, put the plant to the animal's tail, and off they went, as a negro himself would say—'*Like mad, Massa!*' Into the water they plunged—the little fellow grinning and showing his teeth in perfect ecstasy. Out they got on the other side; head and ears down—tail and heels up—and the boy's arms

moving about as if he was flying; and I lost sight of him as he went over a rocky steep at full gallop, where one false step would have precipitated them into the sea beneath, from whence there would have been but small chance of escape. A butcher's boy is nothing to a negro boy in these exploits.

"About two hours afterwards I reached Port Maria. There I saw, in an open space near one of the stores, standing, or rather leaning against the wall, Quashie, eating cakes; and there also stood the mule, eating Guinea grass, and looking much more cheerful than when I first saw him at the river side. 'Well, Quashie,' I said, 'you have got here, I see; but which of you won?' 'Quashie win, Massa—Quashie never lose.' 'But will he pay?' I inquired. 'Quashie pay himself, Massa. You see, Massa Buccra, massa gib Quashie tenpenny bit for grass for mule: Quashie bet fippenny him make him go ober de river. Quashie win. Quashie heb fippenny for cake—mule heb fippenny for grass.'"

* The prices were formerly much higher.

appendage to almost every domestic establishment, both of the higher and lower classes. Numerous as these animals are, however, throughout the island, cases of hydrophobia seldom or ever occur. Cats are also common, but are not in such universal favour as the dog.

By the last authenticated returns, the number of stock, consisting of horses and cattle, was 166,286, with 2,235,733 acres of land in cultivation.

The whole island, comprising 6400 sq. miles, presents an entire surface of 4,080,000 acres; thus leaving nearly 2,000,000 of acres uncultivated. A considerable portion of the latter is situated in the inaccessible regions of the mountains. There are however, thousands of acres in every respect available for cultivation, and which are being rapidly cleared for this purpose by the peasantry.

The principal properties on the island of an agricultural kind are sugar and coffee plantations, together with pens or farms for raising stock. A sugar-estate is usually situated in a rich plain or valley, at a convenient distance from the sea; the coffee-plantation in the mountains of the interior; and the pen in a location on the highlands or on the plains, most convenient for pasturage.

A first-class sugar-estate usually consists of a large mansion occupied by the proprietor or attorney, and one or two somewhat inferior residences for the over-

seer and subordinate agents. Contiguous to these are the works—consisting of the windmill, the boiling-house, the curing-house, and the distillery. Various out-offices, mechanics' shops, the hospital, and the negro-village at a little distance, complete the establishment.

Sugar estates vary in their extent and value according to circumstances, as with farms in England.

An estate (says Stewart, in 1823) producing 200 hogsheads of sugar, averaging 16 cwt., may be thus valued:—

500 acres of land, at 20 <i>l.</i> per acre on an average	-	-	-	£10,000
(Of which 150 acres, if the land be good, is sufficient for canes, the rest being in grass and provisions.)				
200 slaves, averaging 100 <i>l.</i> each	-	-	-	20,000
140 horned stock and 50 mules	-	-	-	5,000
Buildings and utensils	-	-	-	8,000
				<hr/>
Or £23,000 sterling,				£43,000

Such an estate would now be sold probably for the same amount, independently of the labourers. In some cases as many as 500 hands were considered necessary to cultivate 500 acres of land. It might be accomplished by half the number.

The cane-fields and pastures on all well-managed properties are enclosed by stone walls, or by fences composed separately of logwood, lime, lemon, or the maranga-tree, or by these shrubs and trees intermixed. The extent of a cane-field or pasture is from ten to twenty acres. The fences are



[Cutting Sugar-Cane.]

usually trimmed to the height of about four feet, and are as impervious as the hawthorn in England, to which, indeed, the logwood bears a great resemblance. In the orange and lime fences a tree is sometimes allowed at regular intervals to attain its natural growth, which thus answers the double purpose of use and ornament. In some localities the penguin, a kind of wild pine-apple, and various species of the cactus, together with bamboo and other rails, are used for these intersections.

The incipient agricultural operations of an estate consist in clearing the land, opening it up in trenches, and holing it for the reception of the young plants—all which is usually performed by manual labour.

The time for planting and reaping varies with the seasons and with the climate in different localities. The spring plants, however, are usually put in in February, and arrive at perfection in the following December or January. After being cut down, the canes, which are tied in bundles, are conveyed to the mill in carts drawn by oxen, or, from fields inaccessible to such conveyances, on the backs of donkeys and mules. The juice of the cane is expressed by two perpendicular rollers or iron cylinders, propelled by steam or cattle, and flows into the boiling-house, where it is manufactured into sugar. The scum and dross occurring in this process (which, contrary to the received opinion in this country, is a remarkably clean one,) together with the molasses, are passed into the distilling-house, and converted into rum: 300 gallons of which are produced from every acre of land yielding 3 hhds. of sugar. These processes being ended, attention is immediately turned to the necessary preparations for the ensuing crop, and the general operations of the estate.

Almost the only implements of husbandry in common use are the hoe, the bill, the cutlass, and the axe. The hoe is chiefly used for digging cane-holes, trenching, ditching, and weeding;* the bill and the cutlass for cutting canes, denuding pastures of underwood and superfluous herbage, and also, in conjunction with the axe, in clearing forest lands for cultivation. Manure is conveyed to the field on the heads



[Hoe and Bill for Sugar Cultivation.]

of labourers in baskets or trays filled by the hoe: exhibiting, in these respects, no improvement on the rude usages of our Saxon forefathers. As yet chemistry has been but imperfectly applied to the purpose of ascertaining the peculiar properties of soils. Nor is the science of agriculture either generally understood or applied to any practical use. Little is done in the way of drainage, alternate crops, artificial grasses, or manuring.

Soils are usually wrought until exhausted; after which they lie fallow for several years; thus rendering it necessary successively to redeem tracts from the forest to supply the deficiency created, and which can only be effected at a great expense of time and labour.

The soil best adapted for the growth of coffee is a deep brown loam. Intervals of about six feet are left between the plants, which are frequently and carefully cleaned. The berries ripen and are gathered between the months of October and January.

After having undergone the process of pulping, it is dried on terraces called barbecues, and is then fit for local use or exportation.

The pimento or alspice plantations, which are usually connected with those of coffee, sometimes yield two crops a year. The principal season for gathering it is from August to October. "It is broken in" in its green or unripe state, and dried like the coffee.

Particulars respecting the mode of cul-

* The hoe was first introduced in the cultivation of the West Indian islands to clear the land from roots, as the plough and the spade could not then be used.

tivating and preparing ginger, arrow-root, and other articles of export, cannot be detailed.

Pens resemble the breeding and grazing farms of Great Britain.

In all these processes the same disregard to improvement is manifest. It is calculated that in planting canes, a pair of horses and a plough will do the work of thirty-five men. "The farmer may form some idea of the waste of labour in the West Indies," says an intelligent American traveller,* "by supposing his lands to be all cultivated with Indian corn, and no agricultural implements allowed him except a mule, a pack-saddle, a wooden tray, and a stub hoe."

By a thorough reformation of the present vicious and defective system of domestic economy—by an improved system of manuring and cultivation—returns of produce might be successively drawn from a more compact surface of soil in the immediate vicinity of the plantation works.

A steam-engine saves the labour of four able hands per diem during five months of the year, besides ensuring a better quality of sugar, and the substitution of animal labour and machinery, as far as practicable, would reduce the number of effective hands on an estate to nearly half the number required under the present system. It is gratifying, however, to add, that within the last few years some important improvements have been introduced, which are chiefly to be attributed to the Agricultural Societies, originated by C. N. Palmer, Esq., in the year 1834, first patronized by his excellency, the Marquis of Sligo, and now become general.

The plough, the steam-engine, the coffee-pulper, a machine for clearing and weeding canes, with other instruments of a similar kind, are now being gradually introduced. The breed of plantation-stock is considerably improved;—companies have been formed for supplying the towns of Spanish Town and Kingston with water,—for working a copper-mine, and for the production of silk; and a taste has been imparted for progressive scientific improvement, which, it is hoped, will establish the prosperity of the colony on a broad and substantial foundation.

Much, however, as has been already ac-

complished, very much more still remains to be done. *The resources of the country are not at present more than half developed.* Its variety of soil and climate is adapted to the cultivation of almost every article that is grown within the tropics and the milder regions of the temperate zone; whilst its resources of raw material for manufactures of almost all kinds, and which are almost innumerable, may be said to be entirely unemployed, except for local purposes by the peasantry. The old methods of cultivation are the rule—the improvements the exception. The hoe, the cutlass, and the tray,* and others of equal antiquity, still usurp the place of the plough and spade, the muck-fork, the wheel-barrow, and the tumbril: whilst the practical knowledge of the last century is still regarded by many as superior to the experience and science of the present day.

The price of agricultural labour, compared with that of former years, is considerably diminished. The amount paid for hoeing an acre of land for canes by a jobbing gang in 1823, was from 5*l.* to 7*l.*: the price now paid is 3*l.* 10*s.* The rate of wages for jobbers per day was from 2*s.* to 3*s.*: it is now from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* Stone walls for enclosures, which formerly cost 5*l.* per chain, are now built for 1*l.* 2*s.* per chain. And this scale of reduction is applicable to manual labour of almost every kind. Under all these circumstances, it is presumed that the necessity for an increase of our rural population by immigration is questionable, as the diminution of manual labour which these proposed changes would effect would more than compensate for any supposed deficiency of effective hands. All disinterested and philanthropic men, both in Jamaica and elsewhere, concur in the opinion that the present immigration scheme is not only unnecessary, but injurious, impolitic, inefficient, and useless; injurious, from its likelihood to interrupt the progress of civilization; impolitic, as furnishing a pretext for the continuance or renewal of the slave trade; and altogether inefficient in securing the reduction of wages or the

* "A gentleman purchased a lot of wheelbarrows, with the intention of having the negroes use them instead of trays, in carrying out manure; but they not taking a fancy to the rolling part, loaded them, and mounted the whole on their heads. It is, however, scarcely necessary to remark how rapidly this prejudice will vanish with the progress of intelligence and enterprise."

supplies desired: thus occasioning a useless expenditure of the public money, and a defection among the native peasantry, which may involve consequences of a most serious character. With the various agricultural and other improvements suggested, greater facilities of conveyance, a less lavish expenditure of the public money, diminished taxation, an improved system of domestic economy, connected, with a leasing out of estates to the present manager as a remedy for absenteeism, the prosperity of Jamaica may be more substantially and permanently secured than by any other schemes that may be devised.

The following is a calculation lately made by his excellency, the Earl of Elgin, while at Shortwood, the estate of Joseph Gordon, Esq.:

	£	s.	d.
Cane-hole moulding according to old system	4	0	0
Planting	0	12	0
First cleaning	0	12	0
Second do.	0	12	0
Third do.	0	8	0
Fourth do.	0	8	0
	6	12	0

NEW SYSTEM.*

	s.	d.
Ploughing one acre—wages of ploughmen and boys	5	6
Planting	12	0
First harrowing one acre, half day—wages for one man driving two steers in tandem, or one horse	2	0
First moulding do., half day, with a double mould plough, 2s. for the ploughman, and 9d. for the boy	2	9
Second moulding and third do., 2s. each	4	0
Seven days' feeding, horses or cattle, at 2s. 6d. per day	17	6-2 3 9
Gain	4	8 3

Allowing that, according to the old system, the rattoons took three cleanings, including moulding and thrashing, at 12s. per acre 1 16 0

ON THE NEW SYSTEM.

Three do. at 3s., exclusive of stock and implements	0	9 0
Effecting a saving of	1	7 0

The observations here made with respect to the defective state of common husbandry, will apply in an equal, or even in

a greater degree, to horticulture. Horticulture, indeed, has been wholly disregarded, except by a few individuals, who have formed themselves into a society in Kingston; and missionaries, who have endeavoured to give an impulse to these pursuits among the peasantry of the new townships. Hence, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the towns on the south side of the island, very few European vegetables are produced, although in all the highlands of the country they would flourish in the greatest abundance, and attain the highest perfection.

Adorned, as is this lovely island, with every thing calculated to woo the embellishments of art, there is perhaps no spot on the surface of the globe, inhabited by civilized men, where the beauties of nature have been lavished so entirely in vain. Millions of flowers and shrubs, displaying hues and tints which mock all the efforts of the pencil, still remain detached and scattered, forgotten and unknown. No extensive public gardens or pleasure-grounds are here found inviting healthful recreation, and displaying their sylvan beauties to the eye; no walks, shaded and adorned by aromatic trees and shrubs, to tempt the se-

"The average cost of production of a hundred weight in the British West Indies, is (without any charge of interest or capital)	15	8
The expense of bringing it to market in Great Britain is	8	6
Making altogether	24	2
The average price of 1831 is	23	8
Leaving a deficiency of	0	6

"By this statement it appears that slave labour was cheaper by 6d. per hundred weight than free labour. If in this early stage of the working of emancipation the cost of production has been such a trifle more than during the days of slavery, what may not be expected, by the introduction of a better system of management, by the aid of machinery and other improvements by which it may be considerably reduced?

"But, if we understand the statement aright, free labour is already cheaper than slave labour. In the cost of production, no charge of interest or capital is made. Now, it is a well-known fact, that a much larger amount of capital was required in the days of slavery than under the present system. There was the purchase-money for the slaves. Say that an estate had 200 slaves located upon it, the capital withdrawn amounts to 5000*l.*, reckoning only at 25*l.* per head, being a saving of 250*l.* per annum, at 5 per cent. interest; say that 180 hogsheads of sugar are produced of a ton weight each, this 250*l.* saved will reduce the cost rather more than 1*s.* 4*d.* per hundred weight; instead, therefore, of there being an advantage of 6*d.* per cent. under slavery, there is actually a saving of 10*d.* per cent by free labour in the British West India colonies."—*Jamaica Baptist Herald.*

* On the Cost of Slave and Free Labour.—A report has been made 'From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Commercial State of the West Indian Colonies, July, 1842.' Without making any remark respecting the report generally, we now confine ourselves entirely to that part which relates to the cost of production of sugar, as given by the Committee—

dentary citizen and his captive family beyond the precincts of their domicile: yet in such a climate few things seem more necessary or desirable; while from the profusion of vegetable life which every where abounds, it would be comparatively easy of accomplishment. Such an appendage to Kingston and Spanish Town, especially, is a *desideratum*—and its cost, compared with the immense sums lavished on less becoming recreations, would be inconsiderable.

A large botanic garden was established several years ago in the village of Bath. It was successively enriched with productions from the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans—from Mauritius and the continent of India—presented by Lord Rodney, Captain Bligh, and others, and which promised very considerable advantages to the colony; but, in accordance with that want of taste and public spirit, or as the effect of that apathy or avarice, which then characterized the leading men of the colony, it was finally abandoned, the legislature discontinuing the means for its progressive cultivation.

As previously stated, no class of emigrants is so well suited to Jamaica as farmers with small capital. Such might most advantageously settle in the mountain districts. This would necessarily lead to improvements in practical agriculture, and thus not only facilitate the development of the resources of the country, but add much to its social happiness and prosperity.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

Council, House of Assembly, Courts of Law, Laws,
Public Offices—Ecclesiastical Establishments—
Naval and Military ditto—Taxes, Revenue.

THE Government of Jamaica is formed after the model of that of the Parent State, with such variations as the nature of the country is THOUGHT to require. It consists of a Governor, Council, and Assembly, or House of Representatives. The Governor is appointed by the Crown,—has the title of Excellency,—is Commander-in-Chief of the Forces,—Vice-admiral, &c.;—

is invested with the chief civil authority, and, under particular circumstances, can appoint *pro. tem.* a successor. The Council, which is similar to the House of Lords or the Privy Council in England, is also appointed by the Sovereign at the recommendation of the Governor, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Assembly, which resembles the House of Commons, is chosen by a small portion of the people, and enjoys all the privileges of the House of Commons in England.

The Governor, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Bishop, the Commander of the Forces, and the Chancellor, are all members of the Council *ex officio*, and the others are selected from the most respectable and opulent of the inhabitants. They are twelve in number, and are addressed by the title of Honourable. The Assembly consists of 47 members, being two representatives to each parish, and an additional one to the towns of Spanish Town, Kingston, and Port Royal. Its duration is seven years. The qualification of a representative is the possession of a freehold of 300*l.* per annum in any part of the island, or a real and personal estate of 3000*l.* An elector must possess a freehold estate in the parish in which he votes of the value of 6*l.* sterling, or at a rent-charge of 30*l.* sterling, recorded in the island secretary's office for twelve calendar months, and the right of voting thereon entered in the parish books, in the office of the clerk of the vestry, or clerk of the common council, six calendar months. He must be twenty-one years of age; and actually pay taxes to the amount of 3*l.* sterling per annum. His specific place of abode must be also registered. He must make oath as to his actual possession of the property;—present a rent-receipt from his landlord, and pay his taxes up to the term of his claiming to vote, and in continuity afterwards, as a condition of his continued privilege.

The Supreme Court, in the extent of its jurisdiction resembles those of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in the Mother Country. Its sittings are held in St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, the capital, three times a year, commencing in the months of February, June and October, and continued through three successive weeks. The Chief Justice is nominated by the Government of

England. He was formerly assisted by eight or ten colleagues, appointed by the King in council, at the recommendation of the Governor, each of whom received a salary of 200*l.* sterling per annum, and who sat on the bench in rotation. By a recent law this arrangement is superseded, and his Honour the Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe, is now associated with two duly qualified assistants, the Honourables W. C. McDougal and W. Stevenson. They hold their offices at the pleasure of the Queen in council, and have each a patent of office under the great seal of the island, as is the case with the Judges and principal officers of all the other courts, who are removable only by the sanction of the Queen in council. Their salaries are paid by the island, and are as follow:—The Chief Justice, 4000*l.* per annum, and each of his associates about 2000*l.* The whole annual cost for the Judicial Establishment is 23,476*l.* The sum of 7000*l.* was given as retirement douceurs to the former legal authorities. The other officers attached to the court are Dowell O'Reilly, Esq., the Attorney-General, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Court, Solicitor for the Crown, Island Secretary, Provost Marshal or High Sheriff of the Island, with about twelve or fourteen barristers.

The Assize Courts have jurisdiction only in each county respectively, and have the same power and authority that the Justices of Assize and Nisi Prius, Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Justices of Gaol Delivery, have in England.

The Courts of Quarter Sessions are conducted similarly to those of this country, and are presided over by chairmen, lately appointed by the Home Government, assisted by local and stipendiary magistrates. Formerly local magistrates presided over these courts, who often decided cases in which they were personally concerned.

The Courts of Common Pleas are held once in three months or oftener, and have jurisdiction over all causes wherein any freehold is not concerned, to the value of 20*l.* with costs, and no more, but by the aid of a *justicias* from the Chancellor. The appeal against the decision of these courts lies to the Supreme Court of Judicature. They were formerly presided over by local magistrates, subsequently by stipendiary and local magistrates associated, but now by a chairman of Quarter Ses-

sions, assisted by stipendiary and local magistrates.* The Quarter Session takes cognizance of all manner of debts, trespasses, &c., not exceeding the value of 40*s.*

Until recently the Court of Chancery was presided over by the Governor, who possessed the same powers as those with which the Lord High Chancellor of England is invested. The functions of Chancellor are dissociated from those of Governor, and a duly qualified individual sustains the office.

Court of Error.—This is a court in which appeals are heard by the Governor in council from the Supreme and Assize Courts in the form of writs of error, and which are allowed and regulated by Her Majesty's instructions to the Governor. The Court of Vice-Admiralty decides all maritime causes, and adjudges prizes to claimants. It is a miniature representation of the Vice-Admiralty Court in England.

The Court of Ordinary is for determining all ecclesiastical matters. It is presided over by the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign and the nominal head of the Church, who in that capacity inducts into the vacant rectories. The Bishop of London was formerly the diocesan of Jamaica and of all the West Indian colonies; but a bishop was appointed specially for the island, including the Bahamas and Honduras, in 1825, with a salary of 4000*l.* per annum, and an archdeacon with a salary of 2000*l.* from the home government. The crown livings were in the gift of the Governor, in virtue of his station as such, but are now in that of the bishop. The clergy are paid partly by a stipend and partly by fees.

Of late years the average annual expenditure of Jamaica for her ecclesiastical establishment has been upwards of 30,000*l.*, and which is paid out of the public taxes. The rectors' stipends were estimated by Mr. Bridges, in the year 1835, at 8820*l.*; the curates' salaries at 10,550*l.*; the aggregate vestry allowances, 3430*l.*; and the average sum drawn from the inhabitants

* The stipendiary magistrates are appointed and paid by the Home Government, and are removable only through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Richard Hill, Esq., a gentleman of colour, is the Secretary of the Special Justices' Department, and is an honour to the Government of the country.

for surplice fees, at 5872*l.*, independently of the annual expenditure in maintaining thirty-nine churches and chapels. By recent acts of the legislature the fees have been abolished and an annual sum granted instead, which has greatly increased the salaries of the rectors, so that, including grants of money for chapel and school-house building, the expenditure for ecclesiastical purposes has been increased from 30,000*l.* to nearly 80,000*l.* per annum, thus imposing a most unjust and oppressive burden upon the dissenters, who constitute more than half the population of the island.

These statements are supported by the following facts:—The Clergy Act, passed December 1840, expressly enacts that no charge be made by clergymen of the Church of England for marriages, christenings, and burials, but that they receive in lieu thereof, out of the public treasury, the following sums per annum, viz:—

The Rector of Kingston	-	-	-	£600
“ “ of St. Catherine	-	-	-	400
“ “ of St. James	-	-	-	400
“ “ of St. Andrew	-	-	-	300
With 17 others at 200 <i>l.</i> each	-	-	-	3400
Total	-	-	-	£5100

Thus the salaries of rectors are supposed to vary from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* per annum each. In the year 1842 there was expended in one parish (Trelawney) for church purposes, including schoolmasters and subordinate church officers, 7,000*l.* sterling, or 35,000 dollars: about 4*s.* 2*d.*, or one dollar per annum for every man, woman, and child within its boundaries. The sum of six hundred pounds was also voted to paupers belonging to the same establishment.

The total paid for the church by the island in the year 1841 amounted to 65,919*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, in addition to the 11,000*l.* by the British Government and societies for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, or, as estimated by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, 77,519*l.*

“There are no tithes in Jamaica,” says Mr. Candler,* writing in 1840; “a land-tax was imposed in lieu of tithes, and the Church of England clergy are paid their stipends out of the island chest. The average receipts of the rectors are, I under-

stand, about 1000*l.* sterling per annum, and of the curates about 400*l.* These stipends, with the salary of the bishop and archdeacon, and other ecclesiastical demands for new churches and chapels, school-rooms, and national schools, swallow up about 50,000*l.* per annum, or one-eighth of the whole revenue of Jamaica; and from the disposition recently manifested by the House of Assembly to gratify the bishop and church, this sum seems likely, if not checked by the people, to go on increasing.”

There is no Bankruptcy Law in Jamaica, but an Insolvent Debtors’ Act instead, which is considered very arbitrary in its requirements.

As a security against fraud, the law, until a very recent period, when it was abrogated, required that every person intending to leave the island should publish his name for three weeks in the newspapers, and obtain a certificate from the Governor, without which any captain of a vessel with whom he might sail would be liable to a very heavy penalty.

Though the constitution of the island is similar to that of England, and the legislature enacts its own laws, these laws are subject to the confirmation or disallowance of her Majesty in council; and while some go into immediate operation on the assent of the Governor on behalf of the Queen, others of a more particular and important kind are passed with a suspending clause, and are not carried into effect until her Majesty’s pleasure is known. At the same time the sovereign has the prerogative of disallowing any colonial Act which she has not previously confirmed at any period, however remote. As with all the British colonies, the island is dependent on the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, who have full power to control it in all cases whatsoever. Although the common law of England is here in force, it is not so generally with the statute laws. Nor can the latter become laws of Jamaica, unless recognised by the local legislature. It is well known that the consolidated Slave Act existed as a distinct code, and had reference to slavery and its relations alone. Colonial enactments now relate to those regulations of local policy which are thought necessary to the altered state of things, and to which it is supposed that the statute laws of England are inapplicable.

* Mr. John Candler, of the Society of Friends, performed a tour of Jamaica and Hayti in the year 1840, and published some valuable information on the state and prospects of these islands.

It must be obvious that the entire system of British law is as applicable to the government of the colonies as to that of the parent state; and its adoption in Jamaica would be an important boon to the country. It is well known that those laws which have been enacted since Emancipation have not secured to the peasantry those privileges and immunities which they were intended to confer: many of them, therefore, have been disallowed. Amongst these there are some that are not only oppressive and unjust, but utterly at variance with every dictate of sound policy, such as the Militia Law, the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act, the Election Law, and the Stamp Act.

A body of militia is unnecessary, and serves no other purpose than that of impoverishing and demoralizing the peasantry. The tendency of the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act is to create a monopoly of trade; to form an almost insurmountable barrier to honourable competition; and to impose the most oppressive restrictions upon the industry of the poorer classes. A hawker and pedlar in England for the sum of 4*l.* may purchase a license, which enables him to travel throughout England and Wales. In Jamaica he would have to purchase as many licenses as there are parishes, and which, including stamp-duties and clerks' fees, would probably amount to upwards of 100%. This Act is also as useless in the accomplishment of its avowed object as it is unjust and impolitic in its character, inasmuch as it fails to benefit the monopolist, is unproductive to the revenue, and ineffectual in preventing the sale of stolen goods.

The election law is equally liable to objection: by that mysterious combination of ever-changing difficulties which attends its operation, nearly 300,000 out of the 400,000 inhabitants which the island contains, may be said to be entirely unrepresented, and, consequently, be excluded from all the common paths of honourable ambition.

The Stamp Act was evidently designed to prevent the possession of freeholds by the peasantry, and thus to diminish the amount of that influence which they would ultimately exert upon the legislature and other interests of the country. So unjust and oppressive are its enactments that every effort ought to be made by the

friends of civil liberty to effect its disallowance.*

Great and salutary as is the change which has been effected in the judicial system, it cannot be dissembled that great defects still exist; indeed, so palpable have these evils at length become, that considerable dissatisfaction has been for some time manifested on the subject, not only by the public but by the legal profession. They have been denounced in the public journals, and loud demands have been made for their reform. The remedies suggested are rules for the government of the inferior courts, and the establishment of island law reports, the latter to be published annually, for the use of the profession, and the benefit of the public. The reports to extend to all causes in Chancery, trials at Nisi Prius, and arguments in Banco, to be revised by the judge who heard or tried the cause in Chancery, or at Nisi Prius, and to be then published at the expense of the island, and received as good authority in all its courts.†

In the inferior courts great advantages have been derived from the appointment of chairmen of Quarter Sessions, some of whom, the Honourables T. J. Bernard, Mayo Short, and Henry Roberts, Esq., are especially efficient. A thorough reform of the magistracy is, however, imperatively required. So powerfully does prejudice still continue to operate against the poorer classes, so little effect has a change of circumstances effected in the dispositions of the local authorities, and so far is justice removed beyond the reach of the pecuniary means of the great mass of the people, that, with a very few exceptions, it may be said to be entirely denied them.

Each parish has a Custos Rotulorum, answering to the office of Lord Lieutenant of a county in England. He is designated Honourable, and has the custody of the parochial records. The affairs of each parish are managed by a vestry, over which the Custos presides. The vestry consists of the rector, churchwarden and

* By this Act the legal expense of executing and recording a title for an acre of land will, in some cases, double or treble its intrinsic value. It is also supposed to possess a retrospective aspect, rendering all preceding conveyances invalid unless executed by a solicitor at the legal rate of charge, subjecting the present freeholders to the expense of new deeds of conveyance.

† Jamaica Morning Journal.

ten vestrymen. It has the prerogatives of assessing and appropriating local taxes; appointing waywardens for superintending the repair of public roads; and also of choosing the different parochial officers. Each parish has also its coroner and clerk of the peace, the duties and powers of which correspond with those of similar offices in England.

The business connected with forts and fortifications, of public works, and of public accounts, is managed by commissioners, of which the council and assembly are members *ex officio*.

Port Royal Harbour is the rendezvous of the navy. In time of peace it consists of only one or two frigates and several smaller vessels, which are cruising on the station. Here also are the store-houses, the dock-yard, and the necessary conveniences for careening ships.

The military force, including 200 artillery-men, is about 3000, comprising four European regiments of the line, and one of Africans from the west coast of Africa. The colonial militia lately numbered from 16,000 to 18,000 men at arms, comprising 20 troops of horse and 23 of infantry, with two field-pieces and a company of artillery to each regiment. The head-quarters for the regiments of the line are Spanish Town, Kingston, and Maroon Town, in Tre-lawny. The principal fortifications are, Fort Charles on the east end of Port Royal, and the battery of the Twelve Apostles; and Fort Augusta, at the entrance of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours.

The annual revenue of Jamiaca, including the local taxes of the different counties, and parish vestries, is estimated at 600,000*l*. It sustains its own government, and its ecclesiastical, naval and military establishments (the salaries of the bishop and archdeacon excepted), besides yielding an annual revenue to the Crown of 10,000*l*.

The taxes are numerous, and oppressive to the public generally, but especially to the small freeholders: the principal of them are the land tax, the stamp tax, a tax of 20*s*. on wheel carriages not used in agriculture or for the conveyance of goods, a house tax of 12 per cent. on the amount of rent, a tax on horses, mules, and horned stock; and a road tax, recently enacted, which levies one dollar, or 4*s*. 1*d*., per annum on each male person from sixteen years of age to sixty. As they have been

raised with little regard to justice and the pecuniary ability of the public, so have they been squandered with the most reckless extravagance. Thus, in addition to the 80,000*l*. absorbed by the national church, the cost of the police establishment amounts to 56,400*l*. per annum, and that of the immigration scheme, to not less than 30,000*l*. per annum.

From the report of the committee, showing the ways and means, the income of the island for 1842 was estimated at 427,000*l*., and the expenditure 363,000*l*., leaving an apparent overplus of 60,000*l*., thus, as was said officially by one of the members of the legislature, obviating the necessity that was supposed to exist for an income tax.

The following extract from a letter lately received from a missionary in Jamaica, dated May 23, 1843, abundantly confirms the statements contained in this chapter:—

“Our taxes are abominably high. The capitation tax of 4*s*. per head is felt as a burden, under which the people complain. A poor black man is charged his full amount of tax, sometimes more; is often refused the discount, though he pays within the specified time; is charged 1*s*. or 1*s*. 6*d*. for filling up the vestry form, and some of the magistrates demand 1*s*. 7*d*. for administering the required oath or receiving the necessary declaration: and now, by a most wily and unjust law, a man whose freehold is not worth 10*l*. per year is exempted from militia duty, and exempted also from a vote; so that every voter is liable to serve in the militia, and then the smallest privilege is not to be enjoyed by our peasantry unless they purchase it at about 100 per cent. above its real value.”

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCE.

SHIPPING; Imports and Exports—Monetary System; Coins, Amount of Property, aggregate Value of Property.

FROM the transition which society has lately undergone, it was natural to expect that in the cultivation of the staple product of the country some temporary disadvantages would be experienced. It is, however, gratifying to find, as was confidently predicted by the friends of freedom, that they have been *but* temporary, as it is stated, on

PORT OF KINGSTON—JAMAICA.

A REVERS, showing the value of British Manufactured Goods exported from the several Ports in the Island of Jamaica during the years ended 10th October, 1840, the 10th October, 1841, and 10th October, 1842, distinguishing each Port and Country to which exported.

	Great Britain.		British West Indies.		British North American Colonies.		Elsewhere.		United States of America.		Foreign States.		Total.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
<i>Year ended 10th October, 1840.</i>														
Kingston and Old Harbour	7,417	15 9	1,248	19 0	509	18 9	1,352	10 0	2,303	5 11	375,487	10 3	388,319	19 8
Morant Bay and Port Morant	305	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	138	13 4	433	13 4
Port Antonio	120	0 0	..	..	13	15 4	..	..	..	..	..	..	133	15 4
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	309	10 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	0 0	67	10 0	430	0 0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	7	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	952	0 0	150	0 0	1,109	0 0
Montego Bay and Lucea . . . . .	..	..	10	0 0	72	0 0	..	..	527	0 0	1,572	10 0	2,181	10 0
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River . . . . .	..	..	..	..	10	10 0	..	..	65	12 9	..	..	76	2 9
Total	8,159	5 9	1,258	19 0	606	4 1	1,352	10 0	3,900	18 8	377,416	3 7	392,694	1 1
<i>Year ended 10th October, 1841.</i>														
Kingston and Old Harbour	6,680	11 3	523	16 0	904	0 6	954	5 0	3,093	3 11	202,842	7 5	214,998	4 1
Morant Bay and Port Morant	266	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	967	5 10	1,233	5 10
Port Antonio . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	143	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	143	0 0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	83	0 0	1	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	10 0	149	10 0
Montego Bay and Lucea . . . . .	..	..	..	..	49	0 0	..	..	433	15 0	2,706	17 0	3,189	12 0
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	165	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	152	0 0	..	..	317	0 0
Total	7,337	11 3	524	16 0	953	0 6	954	5 0	3,678	18 11	209,582	0 3	220,030	11 11
<i>Year ended 10th October, 1842.</i>														
Kingston and Old Harbour	5,351	5 0	1,352	0 9	21	0 0	195	0 0	1,848	1 3	286,104	1 5	294,931	8 5
Morant Bay and Port Morant	47	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	0 0	..	..	59	0 0
Port Antonio . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	160	0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	160	0 0
Montego Bay and Lucea . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	794	14 6
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	86	0 0	..	..	28	0 0	..	..	556	4 6	210	10 0	1,718	14 8
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River . . . . .	..	..	..	..	6	12 6	..	..	755	6 8	876	18 0	35	5 10
Total	5,644	5 0	1,352	0 9	55	12 6	195	0 0	3,200	5 9	287,251	9 5	297,698	13 5

A RETURN showing the Staple Exports of this island, between the 10th of October, 1841, and the 10th of October, 1843.

PORTS.	Sugar.			Rum.			Casks Molasses	Ginger.		Pimento.		Coffee.
	Hhds.	Trs.	Blls.	Punchs.	Hhds.	Casks.		Casks.	Blls.	Casks.	Bags.	lbs.
Kingston and Old Harbour	12,148	1,157	1,612	4,417	153	21	4	71	..	87	3,753	4,209,493
Morant Bay and Port Morant	4,116	672	231	1,320	24	2	..	25	..	..	104	8,186
Port Antonio	1,279	159	43	370	..	..	..	..	..	17	29	16,464
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	5,190	828	179	1,863	1	5	..	..	..	..	1,665	13,192
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	11,211	1,837	511	4,061	170	27	6	455	..	14	19,020	622,539
Montego Bay and Lucea	9,902	1,406	527	3,374	244	111	..	155	2,145	11	3,628	12,481
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	3,996	813	31	1,613	4	50	..	1,242	..	161	5,464	2,253,620
Total	47,892	6,872	1,334	17,018	596	216	10	1,948	2,145	290	33,663	7,135,975

A RETURN showing the Value of British Manufactured Goods paying an *ad valorem* Duty on Importation into the several Ports in this Island, during the Years ended 10th October, 1840, 1841, and 1842.

PORTS.	Year ended 10th October, 1840.			Year ended 10th October, 1841.			Year ended 10th October, 1842.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Kingston and Old Harbour	1,083,003	14	5	566,473	6	0	633,537	3	2
Morant Bay and Port Morant	12,496	7	8	12,168	14	0	13,427	6	6
Port Antonio	4,410	16	5	3,281	12	1	3,293	5	8
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	27,203	10	11	15,496	4	9	16,872	3	0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	56,955	17	4	57,522	16	4	33,538	13	11
Montego Bay and Lucea	52,432	11	0	36,610	14	4	31,645	4	2
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	20,377	9	6	16,103	3	1	27,801	7	9
Total	1,256,880	7	3	706,656	10	7	750,115	4	2

the authority of the authenticated table of exports for the year 1842, (see preceding page) that the exports exceeded those of 1841 by 13,221 hogsheads of sugar, 3850 puncheons of rum, and 1233 tierces of coffee.

This statement is thus noticed and confirmed by the Editor of the Morning Journal in Dec., 1842:

"We have been favoured with a view of the statements of exports from this island during the present year, and have been delighted at perceiving the increase which has taken place over those of 1841. The statement is incomplete, not including the exports from Port Maria, Lucea, and Savanna-la-mar. Notwithstanding these omissions, it appears that 13,221 hogsheads of sugar, 3850 puncheons of rum, 1233 tierces of coffee, have been shipped in 1842 over and above the shipments of the previous year. Our British as well as Jamaica readers will be gratified at the increased production of our staples, which this statement shows, and will join us in the anxious hope that they will continue to increase in the like ratio every year, until our island has reached that pitch beyond which increased production becomes an evil."

	Hhds. Sugar.	Pns. Rum.	Trcs. Coffee.
1841	- 22,691	8,298	7,570
1842	- 36,012	12,148	8,803
Excess	- 13,321	3,850	1,233

The following is an extract from the Morning Journal of Feb. 13, 1843:—

"Having laid before our readers a statement of the quantity of produce imported into London during the years 1841 and 1842, with the stock on hand at Christmas of each year, and shown the considerable increase which had taken place in the imports of the latter period, we come now to exhibit the result upon a more extended scale. The return before us embraces the Ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow, and these being the principal ones of the country, the result must be considered pretty correct.

"It appears, then, that the imports of the year 1842 of sugar from the West Indies exceeded those of the previous year by 16,076 hogsheads and tierces, and 5354 barrels; the imports of 1841 being 136,974 hogsheads and tierces, and 11,745 barrels, and those of 1842, 253,050 hogsheads and tierces, and 17,099 barrels.

"The next article on the list is rum.

The imports of this article from the West Indies increased during the last year, as might very reasonably be expected, the sugar crops having been larger. Those in 1841 were 26,647 puncheons and hogsheads; and in 1842, 33,814 puncheons and hogsheads; total excess, 7167 puncheons and hogsheads.

"The imports of pimento in 1842 exceeded those of 1841, by 9333 casks and bags."

On this subject we shall give, in the words of Lord Stanley, the present secretary for the colonies, in his place in parliament, an account of the amount and value of exports from the British West Indies, during a few years before and since the abolition of slavery, which is as follows:

"When he looked to the average quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the West Indies, he found, that during the six years preceding the apprenticeship it was 3,905,034 cwts.; that during the four years of apprenticeship, it fell to 3,486,225 cwts.; that during the first year of freedom, 1839, it fell to 2,824,106 cwts.; and that during the second year of freedom, 1840, it fell to 2,210,226 cwts. If the house would permit him to state this case fully and fairly, they would find that the deficiency of the quantity had been made up by the increased value of the produce in the different intervals. For instance, the average value of sugar for the six years preceding the apprenticeship was 5,320,021*l.*; and for the four years of the apprenticeship, it was 6,218,801*l.* In the first year of freedom the amount was 5,530,000*l.*, and in the next year 5,424,000*l.*; and, although in this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce." We may add that, during the past year, the export of sugar from the British West India colonies was 2,151,217 cwts., making an average of 2,395,151 cwts. since the introduction of freedom, being nearly two-thirds of the amount exported during the period of slavery. In the present year, the exports are expected to exceed those of the last, by from 200,000 to 300,000 cwts.

The coins until the passing of the act in 1839 for the assimilation of the currency to that of the United Kingdom, were Spanish and Portuguese. There were no banks.

Money transactions with England were carried on by means of bills of exchange, usually bearing a rate of premium in proportion to their demand in the market, besides the nominal par of exchange. Sometimes the premiums have been as high as 23 per cent. The only paper currency consisted of island checks, issued by the Receiver General upon the security of the island and its revenue. The gold and silver coins were doubloons, pistoles, dollars, half-dollars, maccaronies, tenpences, and five-pences. There was no copper coin current, and the smallest of the silver coin was 5*d.* current or 3*d.* sterling.

There are now three banks in full operation, which have removed a great impediment to commercial intercourse, and greatly facilitated the operations of the planter by securing a constant supply of metallic currency, thereby acting beneficially, both on the colonies and the parent state.

The total amount of annually created property on the island, such as its agricultural, vegetable, and animal productions, is estimated at upwards of eight millions, and the total of movable and immovable, such as land, public buildings, domestic property, and money in circulation, at upwards of forty-four millions.

CHAPTER IX.

WHITE INHABITANTS.

Their Origin, Settlement, Trades and Professions, Domestic Habits, Dress—Social Dispositions and Affections—Manners and Customs—Education, Morals, Religion—General Improvement.

THE first white settlers in Jamaica after its possession by the British were soldiers of the armament under Penn, Venables, and D'Oyly; immigrants from Ireland and Scotland; pirates and buccaneers, the latter of whom had long infested the neighbouring seas. To these may be added various individuals of respectability, judges and others, who had taken a conspicuous part in the trial of Charles I. Some wealthy planters arrived from Barbadoes; Scotch settlers from Darien; a number of Jewish families, and several naval and military officers. These were succeeded from year to year by artificers and indented servants, together with individuals of different trades and professions, more or less reputable as to character, from the three kingdoms. Some also were from Germany, Portugal, St. Domingo, and several of the French and Spanish settlements. In process of time this heterogeneous mass became amalgamated, and from various local cir-



[Planter, attended by Negro Driver.]

cumstances, assumed something like a distinguished in general as professional men, common character. They were distinguished in general as professional men, planters, merchants, store-keepers, and

tradesmen, with others occupying inferior situations under them.

The descendants of these, the present natives of the country, are slender and graceful in form, their complexion pale, and with a more languid expression of countenance than the Europeans; their features are regular, their eyes expressive and sparkling, their hair a fine flaxen or auburn, their voices soft and pleasing, and their whole air and looks tender, gentle, and feminine.

In the furniture of their houses and domestic habits, the more respectable of the white inhabitants, native as well as European, differ but little from those of the same classes in the mother country. In consequence of the heat of the climate both sexes generally dress in white. As throughout the year the duration of the day and night is nearly the same, there is but little variation in the hours of rising, meals and business. Every morning at sun-rise, about 5 o'clock, a gun is fired at Port Royal, and again at sunset, about seven o'clock. Five or six is the usual time of rising, breakfast about eight or nine, and a meal called the second breakfast between twelve and one. Among the more respectable classes, dinner is usually served at six or seven in the evening, but few of the inhabitants take either tea or supper.

Though the white inhabitants of Jamaica retained in a considerable degree the national customs, as well as many of the domestic and social habits of their European ancestors, yet in consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, they rapidly degenerated in their mental attainments and general accomplishments.

The females, excluded from the advantages of a liberal education, became addicted to pleasures, such as horse-races, dances, and convivial entertainments, thus acquiring habits which could not fail to operate unfavourably on their domestic circumstances and general character.

Both sexes became alike the victims of pride, avarice, and prejudice, and, though kind and generous in their deportment towards friends and acquaintances, yet towards others, especially if their inferiors, they were reserved, proud, supercilious, overbearing and cruel, exhibiting, indeed, an anomaly of character perfectly inexplicable, but for the influence of slavery.

The aggregate character of the white inhabitants, when composed of such elements, in a country abounding in facilities for the gratification of the worst passions of our nature, and where, at the same time, they were under the influence of no salutary restraints, may be in some degree, at least, conceived. Lest, however, the testimony of the writer (though drawn from facts collected on the spot, or the result of his own personal observation) should be liable to suspicion, he will adduce representations from historical records; a portrait shall be given as delineated by men who were too closely connected with the state of things in the colony to be even suspected of exaggeration to the disadvantage of the parties concerned. The character of the white inhabitants was by these writers deplored, and mentioned only with a view either of exhibiting the progress of reform, or of operating as a stimulus to greater improvement; an object than which nothing can be more anxiously desired by the best friends of the country.

"Many of those," says Mr. Long, "who succeeded to the management of estates had much fewer good qualities than the slaves over whom they were set in authority, the better sort of whom heartily despised them, perceiving little or no difference from themselves, except in skin and blacker depravity."

The practice of profane *swearing* was awfully prevalent among them. Without it every sentence they uttered appeared incomplete. Not even the most foolish and unimportant story was related without invoking the sacred name of God to attest its truth and facilitate its currency. "I have often thought," continues the same author, "that the lower orders of white servants on the plantations exhibit such pictures of DRUNKENNESS, that the better sort of creole blacks have either conceived a disgust at the practice that occasions such odious effects, or have refrained from it out of a kind of pride, as if they would appear superior to, and more respectable than, such wretches."

But such practices were not confined to the managers and others on estates. The vice of drunkenness pervaded all ranks, often aggravated in proportion to the possession of rank and wealth;—their carousals being usually accompanied by gambling and all the evils which follow in its

train. "Many gentlemen of rank in the country impaired their fortunes and reduced their families to the brink of ruin by such excesses. It was not at all unusual to see one of them, after losing all his money, proceed to stake his carriage and horses, that were waiting to convey him home, and, after losing these, obliged to return on foot. Drunken quarrels happened among intimate friends, which generally ended in duelling,—a species of crime the most awfully prevalent, and resorted to on the most trifling occasions. There were very few who did not shorten their lives by intemperance and violence."

"The bulk of the uneducated," says Stewart, "are dissolute in their lives, and shameful in their excesses." Concubinage was almost universal, embracing nine-tenths of the male inhabitants. Nearly every one down to the lowest white servant had his native female companion.* For the most part the only exceptions were to be found in the cases of a few professional men, merchants, store-keepers in the towns (principally Jews), and here and there in the country a proprietor or large attorney." "The name of a family man," says the favourite historian of the colonists,† "was formerly held in the greatest derision, whilst for a white man to form a matrimonial alliance with a woman of colour, although she might have lived with him for years and borne him several children, would be for ever to forfeit his rank in white society, and to transmit his name to posterity in imperishable infamy." The most shameless adultery was every where prevalent. This sin was so common that groups of white and mulatto children, legitimate and illegitimate, were frequently claimed by the same father, and all brought up together under the same roof. This gross and open violation of every social duty was tolerated without the least injury to character even in the estimation of females of respectability, or any diminu-

tion of public or private respect. Unblushing licentiousness, from the Governor downwards throughout all the intermediate ranks of society, was notorious in the broad light of day.

It revelled in the multiplicity of its vices without resistance and without control.

Renny, who published a history of Jamaica about the year 1807, says, "surely there never was a greater inconsistency than a profession of *religion* here. In some of the parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church; in others there is no priest; and when there is, the *white* inhabitants never think of attending. In a town which contains between 20 and 30,000 inhabitants, there is but one church, whilst the attendance at first sight is really somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday, you see the curate, the clerk, the sexton, one or two magistrates, and about a dozen of gentlemen, and nearly double that number of ladies. Nothing troubles the white inhabitants less than the concerns of religion. Christianity, indeed, is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and in its injunctions, to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising that even the mutilated form of it which the English church presents to them should be very obnoxious, and, though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised and openly neglected." They paid no external respect to the Sabbath. "In the towns," continues the same author, and which is also attested by Stewart, "many of the stores are open on the Sunday, and business is transacted in them as usual, with this difference, that the clerks and negroes generally have that day to themselves, which the former spend in amusement, and the latter in idleness and debauchery." In the country the Sabbath was the grand gala day. The overseers on the different estates in each neighbourhood "then meet together, dine alternately at each other's houses, and spend the evening of the day in conversation, smoking, drinking, playing at cards, or dancing, and sometimes, as it not unfrequently happens, in all these employments." That torrent of iniquity which on other days was directed into its separate and more confined channel, seemed on this sacred day to converge around the festive board. There

* Mr. Baillie, a large West Indian proprietor, when examined before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1832, was asked the question—"Can you name any overseer, driver, or other person in authority, who does not keep a mistress?" He replied—"I cannot." For this profligacy of manners on estates the subordinate white servants were not wholly accountable. The formation of more reputable connexions, by the wretched policy of proprietors and attorneys, would have subjected them to the loss of employment.

† Long.

seemed something in the very atmosphere of Jamaica unfavourable to religion in a white man, for scarcely did he touch her shores, than its most important truths were forgotten, and its most sacred obligations violated.

"As to the great part of the white colonists born and brought up in the West Indies," says Mr. Stephens, "I am at a loss for any criterion by which their religious classification can be fixed. Many of them, I believe, have rarely been in a place of worship in their lives. Some, it is supposed, have never been baptized."

Multitudes of them assumed the scoffers' chair, and publicly avowed themselves the champions of infidelity. The press was also enlisted in the same unhallowed cause, and poured out torrents of blasphemy from day to day; whilst the whole community, regarding religion as hostile to their interests as it was opposed to their propensities, opposition to its introduction by missionaries was to be expected. "The first time I preached in Kingston," says Dr. Coke, "a gentleman, inflamed with liquor, began to be very turbulent; till at last, the noise increasing, they cried out, 'Down with him! down with him!' They then pressed forward through the crowd in order to seize me, crying out again, 'Who seconds that fellow?'—from whose violence I was principally protected by a lady. On my first arrival at Montego Bay, accompanied by a missionary," he continues, "we walked about the streets, looking and inquiring for a place to preach in, but every door seemed closed against us." On the following year he again writes:—"The disposition which had vociferated 'Down with him!' had not yet subsided. On the contrary, it had raged with greater violence, and persecution had put on a more terrific form."

About this time, a new chapel being completed, he says—"It was erected in the circle of danger, and arose amidst surrounding storms."

"Soon after," he proceeds, "the persecutions we have experienced in this place (Jamaica) far, very far, exceed all persecutions we have experienced in all the other islands unitedly considered."

Mr. Hammet's life was frequently endangered. Mr. B., who first opened his house, several times narrowly escaped being stoned to death. "Often our most

active friends were obliged to guard our chapel, lest the outrageous mob should pull it down to the ground." At Spanish Town, it appears, he succeeded in procuring a room for preaching; but even here the same bitter spirit of opposition displayed itself. "When I entered the room," he says, "I found it filled with the young bucks and bloods, as we used to term the debauchees at Oxford, who, during my sermon, behaved so rudely that I could scarcely proceed." At the Assembly Room at Montego Bay, which he obtained for the same purpose, he continues—"After I had enforced on the audience the great truths of Christianity, a company of men, with a printer at their head, kept up a loud clapping of hands for a considerable time. I then withdrew into Mr. Brown's dwelling-house; but my companion (Mr. Fish, a missionary) lost me, and, going out into the street, was instantly surrounded by the men, who shouted and swore they would first begin with the servant; on which an officer of the army drew his sword, and, stretching it forth, declared he would run it through the body of any one who dared to touch the young man." Things proceeded to still further extremities. At Kingston, and subsequently at Morant Bay, several ministers and members of their congregations were imprisoned. Among the rest was Mr. Gilgrass, a missionary; and that on no other charge than singing after six o'clock in the evening in his own house. It was under circumstances, too, as far as the authorities were concerned, of a still more intolerant and disgraceful character, as it appears, (and this, it seems, was urged in his defence) that he was merely learning a tune which a brother missionary had just brought from England. "At present," says the same excellent missionary. "I cannot read in the family, or pray, without being cursed worse than a pickpocket, and that by white men who are called gentlemen." Respecting Mr. Hammet, the first missionary who settled in Kingston, he adds—"Harassed with persecution and fatigue, Mr. H. was at this time worn down to a mere skeleton, and the restoration of his health appeared extremely doubtful. His enemies had often killed him in report, and had even insinuated that he had been buried by his friends in a clandestine manner." Dr. C. continues—"This night," writes a friend,

'we were assaulted on both sides of the house at prayer with a volley of stones, so that some were obliged to fly to the windows to secure the blinds for fear of our sustaining damage.' " Subsequently to this were enacted the most intolerant and persecuting laws, which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the missionaries from the island; but which, being opposed to the express command of the "King of kings," and, therefore, necessarily disobeyed by his servants, they were frequently subjected to the indignities of the judgment seat and the prison. These were, indeed, times of rebuke, and blasphemy, and trial. The situation of the missionaries was often painful in the extreme; frequently were they compelled to submit to the mandates of colonial law, and doomed to witness the progress of iniquity, without being permitted to raise their voice against it. Time would fail to enumerate the nature and the number of the laws that were successively enacted by the Legislature to arrest the progress of religious knowledge, and rivet afresh the fetters of ignorance upon their unhappy vassals. One of these enactments restricted the communication of Christian instruction to the slaves before sun-rise and after sun-set, the only times when they could possibly attend for such a purpose; another was an act by which every missionary was subjected to a fine of 20*l*. for every negro found in his congregation; these were followed by a succession of others of the same nature and spirit too tedious to detail, down to the period of the last eventful insurrection in 1832. Thus the whites, notwithstanding their superior advantages, instead of being the most respectable and happy members of society, were the most *wretched* and *corrupt*—so far from setting a good example to their dependants, they adopted every possible means to impair the reverence due to religion, and to weaken the hinges of moral action. The very term "sectarian" served as a convenient synonyme for ignorance and persecution, while misrepresentation and calumny were most liberally employed to alienate the people, generally, from the hallowed institutions of religion, and to excite their prejudices and their passions against its ministers.

The following examples will illustrate and confirm the truth of the preceding observations:—

On one occasion, when in the interior of the country, an application was made by a white man for an interview with a missionary, who soon perceived that he had been favoured with a religious education, and that, although his career had been marked by great excesses, that he was not wholly insensible to moral feeling; and the missionary, therefore, endeavoured, in a faithful and affectionate manner, to press upon his attention the great truths of the Gospel. The tears started in his eyes, and he exclaimed, with apparent anguish of heart, "What, sir, shall I do? You have no idea of the degree of wickedness that prevails among the people of my own colour throughout the country. I am a poor man, and, therefore, cannot leave the island, or else most gladly would I do so; besides, I am now out of employment; and were it known that I had attended the preaching of a missionary, or were it even known that I had spoken to one (and it will be known throughout the parish before to-morrow night), what think you will be the treatment I shall receive from the overseers of the different properties when I go in pursuit of employment?" The conclusion of his statement must be omitted.

On another occasion a missionary met with an individual who had once made a profession of religion, but who had long since awfully fallen, had given himself up to sin, and to work all uncleanness with greediness. He had attended a religious meeting, and the singing, combined with other circumstances, awakening some long slumbering recollections, although partially intoxicated, he requested an interview. He seemed wretched, and repeatedly exclaimed, "O, this country! I am a wretched and miserable man. So far as the body is concerned, I have enough and to spare, but my soul! what is to become of that? I have never had a happy moment, sir, since I turned my back upon God!"

An apparently pious and excellent man, just arrived from Scotland, was urged by a near relative to give up his religion at once, as it would ruin and disgrace them both. On his refusal he was turned out of doors, and directed to seek employment as a book-keeper on an estate. He did so; and on an interview which he sought with his relative (for he *seemed* to have had the spirit as well as the circumstantialia of genuine piety) previously to his entering

upon the duties of his new situation, what does the reader think constituted the essence of the parting adieu?—"If your religion is not beaten out of you in a few days," said the experienced libertine and atheist, "I shall be sadly out of my reckoning." Lamentable to relate, this prediction, as has doubtless been the case in hundreds of similar instances, was but too strictly verified.

"I have just been conversing," said a friend to a missionary one evening, "with a professional gentleman from the country, on the subject of religion. He wept aloud, and said, 'that Jamaica was a hell upon earth.'"

These are plain irrefutable facts. So plain and so irrefutable that the conscience of every man acquainted with the general state of society, if suffered to speak out, would unhesitatingly confirm them.

On some estates it was customary for the head book-keeper to read the burial-service at the funerals of the christened negroes. It was so at R. H.; and on the death of a pious negro the book-keeper appeared at the appointed time at the place of interment, and, placing himself at the side of the grave, opened the prayer-book and began the service. He was agitated, and read the few first lines with a faltering voice, but when he came to that part of it which refers to the resurrection of the dead, he trembled to such a degree that the book fell from his hands, and running hastily away left the corpse uninterred. The deceased having been much respected, the funeral procession was numerous, composed of almost all the negroes on the estate, and others of piety from the surrounding ones. These were all witnesses of this spectacle, and were at length obliged to perform the last sad offices themselves. Many of the poor people who were present declared this to be a fact, and moreover asserted that the book-keeper, when his terror had subsided, swore that he would never act as chaplain again.

C—, a planting attorney who had been a great tyrant to the slaves under his charge, was so afraid of being poisoned by some of them that he would not eat anything unless it had been prepared and cooked for him by his house-keeper. He even thought that this was not exercising sufficient caution, but kept a boy, the illegitimate offspring of one of the white men

on the estate, constantly sitting on the threshold of the cook-house, during the process, to watch lest any negro entered either it or his dwelling, having the door of the cook-house carefully locked in the interval. He at one time thought that his vigilance had been eluded, and that he was slightly poisoned. He was wretched, and his health became gradually impaired. For its restoration he performed a voyage to his native country. During his absence his slaves received more humane treatment, and were comparatively happy. After the lapse of a period which seemed to justify the hope that they would never again be subjected to his despotic sway, and when cheerfully at work on the public road, his return was announced. They heard the tidings with consternation, and on its being added by their informant that he was on the road, and would soon be in sight, they simultaneously threw down their hoes and fled into the woods, shouting "O, da buckra da come again, come kill we." Perceiving the terror his appearance created he again became wretched, and at last left the island with a determination never to return to it again.

As they have lived so many of them have died. Justly may it be asked, "Who ever fought against God and prospered?"

Mr. —, abhorred by almost all who had a tinge of colour in their complexion, a proprietor and a magistrate, among his other vices, was much addicted to the use of ardent spirits. A short time before his death, though confined to his bed, from which he had no prospect of rising again, he was in a state of constant intoxication. The brandy-bottle which for years had stood constantly by his bed-side was frequently emptied during the course of twenty-four hours. A few minutes before he ceased to breathe he vociferated so loudly and furiously for more that he was heard at some distance. On entering his chamber the blood which had flowed from his mouth as the effect of mercury and fever, was seen besmeared over his face, which, together with his fiend-like ravings, gave such an aspect of horror to his countenance and gestures that even his negro servants and other attendants were afraid to go near him, and their terror was not a little increased by the horrible imprecations he uttered and the curses he called down upon them for not obeying his commands. He

expired on the floor, in the midst of blasphemies, while attempting to revenge himself on his attendants for their neglect.

Within the last twenty years, but more remarkably since 1838, a very considerable improvement has become perceptible in this class of society, especially in the towns, and in particular districts of the country.* Public opinion in the mother country, and more frequent contact with Europeans of both sexes, added to the influence which has been exerted by family men, as Governors, Judges, and professional men in general, have served to stimulate the Jamaica females to the possession of superior accomplishments and the cultivation of more controllable and generous feelings. Numbers of them also have been educated in the first boarding-schools in England, and have therefore, as may be supposed, effected considerable reformation in the circles in which they have afterwards moved. Some, it is true, have relapsed into the listless, apathetic habits of those around them; but a progressive advancement in delicacy of feeling, liberality of sentiment, and in all the refinements of polished society, is clearly perceptible. Many ladies in Jamaica, both as to their persons, manners, and general character, would be an ornament to any society in the world.

A considerable reformation has also been effected in the moral and social habits of the other sex, especially in the towns. In the country, with some exceptions in favour of particular districts, and isolated families, it is painful to add that the picture as previously drawn is still but a too faithful representation. So difficult is it for anything short of divine agency to correct inveterate habits of evil, that drunkenness, profane swearing, concubinage, and licentiousness, with every other kind and degree of wickedness, still prevails to an awful extent, although less unblushingly than formerly. Proprietors, if they cannot be prevailed upon to act from higher motives, cannot fail in a short time to discover it to be their interest, to encourage, rather than discountenance, the formation of more reputable connexions by managers and others on their estates. Not

only is the practice of concubinage awfully demoralizing to all classes and colours, as well as a source of misery to a body of men, some of whom are desirous of cultivating the social virtues, but from the influence of religion on the minds of the peasantry, it renders the perpetrators pitiable, if not despicable, in their estimation, and will tend powerfully to prevent the growth of that mutual respect and confidence which are essential to prosperity and happiness in a state of freedom. The foregoing statements may be regarded as descriptive of white society in the country districts at the present day. The exceptions, which are gradually increasing, being from their secluded habits comparatively isolated and unknown, do not at present afford any material relief to the dark and forbidding outline.

It is delightful to contemplate the change which in this respect has taken place in the towns. Here a goodly and rapidly increasing number have abandoned their former licentious habits, and have entered the marriage state. Amongst these it must be confessed that the Jews furnish the most numerous and reputable examples. Among them marriages with persons of their own nation have always been common, and are obviously on the increase; whilst the disgrace formerly attached to a matrimonial alliance of a white man with a female of colour no longer exists, numbers of the most influential individuals in the colony having broken down the barrier which a popular, but corrupt, prejudice had raised against it. Hence some of the highest civic officers and merchants, with others in all classes of society, have lately married the mothers of their families, and have availed themselves of the advantages of a retrospective clause in a recent Marriage Act, which, under such circumstances, legitimizes their children. Embracing all these redeeming features, however, even with regard to the more densely populated and more highly civilized parts of the island, and placing them in the most conspicuous and advantageous light, it must still be confessed that they are but as specks of verdure amidst universal barrenness and desolation—as obscured and scattered lights amidst thick and prevailing darkness.

These vices are yet to be met with in high places. They are still patronized to

* The families of the Marquis of Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith exerted an especially beneficial influence in elevating the tone and character of society among the upper classes.

a fearful degree by the examples of merchants, tradesmen, and some high public functionaries. It is yet the case, that crimes which in other countries would be considered and treated as a wanton insult to society at large, do not generally exclude the guilty parties from the pale of respectable society, or generally operate to their disadvantage among the female portion of the community. The reckless destroyers of female innocence and happiness still unite in the dance, mingle in public entertainments, are sometimes admitted at the social board, and are on terms of intimacy with the younger branches of families. Nor, revolting as it may be to English feelings, is it much otherwise towards a known and habitual adulterer. Nor is this all; the possession of an illicit establishment by a suitor even at the present day operates as no objection in the mind of a Jamaica female to an alliance with him in marriage. It is not indeed unusual, in the event of satisfactory arrangements of a pecuniary kind being previously made, for the quondam mistress to assist in the arrangements for the marriage ceremony, to reside on some part of the premises, or to continue on terms of intimacy with the family of her former lord.

When will the respectable families and individuals of Jamaica wipe away the reproach which such practices cannot fail to fix upon their characters? That the barbarism and demoralizing influence of such a state of things are becoming the subjects of increasing discussion among all classes; that they are repudiated, privately condemned, and in solitary instances publicly discountenanced, is evident. All that is required in order to correct, and finally to annihilate, the monstrous evil, is for females and family men in general to make against it at once *a vigorous and determined stand*.

With so much that is evil in the moral and social condition of the white inhabitants, it will scarcely be expected that a very flattering account can be given of their general progression with regard to the great subject of religion. A darkness in this respect *thick, gross, and palpable* still prevails. Not only is there manifested the most awful indifference to the obligations of Christianity, but in numberless cases the most contemptuous disregard of it; in a word, infidelity, so congenial with long

habits, and so suitable with depraved tastes and inclinations, still obtains to a very great extent, fostered and confirmed by the vile publications, few in number though they are, found upon estates, and the almost entire restriction of intercourse in such places to corrupt and vicious company. Prejudice against religion and its professors, however, is becoming far less inveterate and general among all classes of the whites throughout the country. Many have exemplified their liberality by assisting missionaries in various ways in the erection of chapels and school-houses, while outward persecution has entirely ceased.

Multitudes of planters and merchants, who were once the greatest enemies to religion and its professors, are now occasionally seen in a place of worship on the Sabbath. Whilst many have lately become savingly converted to God, have put on Christ by an open profession of his name, have formed reputable connexions in marriage, are ornaments to society, blessings to all around them, are confided in, esteemed, and beloved by the peasantry, and will unfailingly secure the prosperity of the properties of which they are either the proprietors or managers.*

The extent to which the change with respect to religion has taken place in the towns can scarcely be conceived even by those who are most sanguine as to the pro-

* An overseer, or, as he is more properly called in some other islands, manager, is the principal person on an estate under the proprietor or his attorney. A book-keeper is subordinate to the overseer, and superintends the labours of the field, and the manufacture of its produce. The latter appellation is most inappropriate—a Jamaica book-keeper having no books to keep.

One of the greatest blessings that could be conferred on white servants on estates would be a *library* of good and useful books. There have been instances known in which two or three infidel publications have been all that some poor book-keepers and others have seen for years, and which, in a few leisure moments after the toils of the day, or in times of recovery from sickness, they have been almost compelled to read to beguile the tediousness of their solitary and oftentimes melancholy hours. After all, our white countrymen on estates and properties in the interior of the country have been, and are still, in a situation very far from enviable; and it is high time that something should be done for their improvement and comfort.

In some large manufactories, &c., in England, proprietors feel it to their interest to promote the *morals* of their dependants, and for this purpose connect libraries with their establishments, and in every other way endeavour to promote their social and domestic comfort. Surely West Indian proprietors are to be found who only need to be reminded of the mutual advantages to be derived from similar means in order to their speedy adoption.

gress of favourable events. The Sabbath day is now recognised as the day of God. Hundreds of the most respectable families are seen attending different places of religious worship who a short time since were scarcely ever within the walls of such an edifice. The Bible is no longer a proscribed or unknown book, nor are children brought up either to ridicule its hallowed doctrines or to despise its salutary restraints.

Bible societies, school societies, anti-slavery societies, and various institutions of a similar kind, have at length excited the sympathies and co-operation of the respectable female portion of the community; and gentlemen of the first standing in society are no longer ashamed to advocate the claims of such institutions by presiding at their anniversaries and contributing liberally and openly to their funds. The opinion that religion consisted only in an occasional attendance at the parish church is no longer general. It begins to be regarded as a *daily* and *personal* concern, and has become the subject of conversation in families where a little time ago its introduction would have excited ridicule or contempt.

Books of all descriptions, many of them the Tract Society's publications, have found their way into private libraries,—are found on drawing-room tables,—and are extensively read. Above all, a *family altar* is erected in the houses of many leading men in the community, at which they themselves preside,—a practice which even ten years since would have subjected them in the public newspapers to contempt and scorn, and which, with the exception of a few isolated instances among laymen, was then totally unknown. The elevating and purifying influences of religion are extending themselves among our countrymen and their descendants, encouraging the hope that irreligion and profligacy, persecution and bigotry, the unfailing concomitants of slavery, will disappear with the system which nurtured them to such an awful maturity and power.

CHAPTER X.

PEOPLE OF COLOUR AND FREE BLACKS.

Former condition—Causes of difference of Complexion and Circumstances—Political State—Proscription from Society of White Inhabitants—Low State of Morals—Removal of Disabilities—Rapid Advancement in civilization and the Social Scale—Present Condition.

WITH the exception of the Maroons, or "Hog-hunters," as the term imports, descendants of the slaves whom the Spaniards left behind them on the conquest of the island by the British, the inhabitants were divided into only two distinctive classes, white and black; the external peculiarities of which determined the condition of the parties as it respected slavery or freedom. In process of time, owing to manumissions granted to domestics as a reward for long and faithful services, together with those on whom that boon had been bestowed by the House of Assembly, chiefly for distinguished efforts in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to their oft distracted community, in addition to the favoured few who had been enabled to obtain their enfranchisement by purchase, there arose, from among the sons and daughters of Ethiopia, an increasing body of persons of free condition denominated free blacks and people of colour. The latter, descended from an intermixture of whites, blacks, and Indians, soon formed an intermediate race, whom the Spaniards distinguished by appellations varying according to their approach in consanguinity to their white or black progenitors. Five principal varieties are generally enumerated as descending from the original negro stock, the sambos, mulattoes, quadroons, mestees, and mestiphinoes. But to these refined distinctions, the Spaniards add the tercirons and the giveros, whom they are said to have proscribed and banished as beings of the worst inclinations and principles. The Dutch recognised gradations still more minute, and which they attempt to distinguish and designate by adding drops of pure water to a single drop of dusky liquor until it becomes nearly transparent.

A sambo is the offspring of a black woman by a mulatto man. A mulatto is the child of a black woman by a white man. A quadroon is the offspring of a mulatto woman by a white man, and a mestee is

that of a quadroon woman by a white man. The offspring of a female mestee by a white man being above the third in lineal descent from the negro ancestor was white in the estimation of the law, and enjoyed all the privileges and immunities of Her Majesty's white subjects, but all the rest, whether mulattoes, quadroons, or mestees, were considered by the law as mulattoes or persons of colour. A creole, whatever his condition or external peculiarities, is a native; thus it is customary to say, a creole white, a creole of colour, or a creole black.

The colonial legislature, gravely assuming that recently enfranchised blacks could acquire no sense of morality by the mere act of manumission (although it cannot be doubted but that, in reality, they were influenced by far less exceptionable motives); the political and civil condition of this class was of the most abject and oppressive character, desirable only when compared with the bondage to which it had succeeded. They were not admitted as evidence against white or other free-born persons in courts of justice, or allowed to vote at parochial or general elections. Like the common slaves, the only mode of trial which they were granted, was by two justices and three freeholders, the judges themselves being probably interested in the issue of the case. Nor did even the people of colour possess immunities to an extent to justify their claim to freedom even in the most restricted import of the term. However wealthy or respectable—and some of them were equally so with many of the more privileged whites—their evidence was inadmissible in criminal cases, both against white persons and those of their own colour. The right of trial by a jury of their own peers conceded by the British constitution even to foreigners, was denied to them. They were ineligible to the office of magistrates or churchwardens, to serve on parochial vestries, to hold commissions in the black and coloured companies of militia, or to sit on juries. To this catalogue of disabilities may be added those created by the 35th section of the colonial statute, which enacts, "that no Jew, mulatto, Indian, or negro, shall be capable to officiate, or be employed, to unite in, or for, any of the public offices therein mentioned." They were not eligible to the office of a common constable, or even to the situation of over-

seers or book-keepers on estates. Not only were they excluded from the privilege of representing their own colour in the colonial assembly, but they had no elective franchise, and were consequently denied the right of even voting at elections for the return of white members to the assembly, and thus virtually refused all right of representation. It was even held illegal for them to possess property beyond a certain amount, lest they might acquire an influence which they might one day exert "injuriously to the island." Thus in an act of assembly passed in the year 1762, it is declared "that a testamentary devise from a white person to a negro, or mulatto not born in wedlock, of a real and personal estate exceeding in value 2000*l.* currency, or about 1200*l.* sterling, shall be void, and the property shall descend to the heir at law." They were not allowed to possess either a sugar or a coffee estate; and no one of them, except he possessed a settlement with ten slaves upon it, could keep any horses, mares, mules, asses or neat cattle on penalty of forfeiture.* Those who had not settlements were obliged to furnish themselves with certificates of their freedom under the hand and seal of a justice, and to wear a blue cross on the right shoulder on pain of imprisonment. If free coloured individuals were convicted of concealing, enticing, entertaining, or sending off the island, any fugitive, rebellious or other slave, they were to forfeit their freedom, be sold and banished. Unless the fact could be incontestably certified by documents, there was a legal presumption against the freedom of a black or coloured man, and in the event of the inability of such individuals to produce satisfactory documents, cases which were of constant occurrence, he was committed to the work-house, worked in chains, ultimately sold by auction to defray the expenses of his imprisonment, and himself and his posterity doomed to perpetual bondage. On every hand were they goaded by oppression as cruel and unnatural as it was unjust and impolitic. Fear is the offspring of tyranny and the companion of guilt; hence the whites were continually conjuring up dreams of rebellion and massacre. Scarcely therefore could these inoffensive people meet together without being sus-

* Long, vol. ii., pp. 321-323.

pected of insurrectionary designs. Nor were the whites negligent in devising expedients to banish the most influential of them from the colony as persons of dangerous principles. This object indeed they effected in the year 1823, by the operation of an alien act introduced into the Legislature for no other purpose. The first victims of this disgraceful statute were Messrs. Lescene, Escoffery, and Gonville, whose cause was so ably and triumphantly pleaded before the British parliament by Dr. Lushington.

Not only were they oppressed and bowed down by the operation of unjust and cruel laws, but there was yet another circumstance connected with the condition of the coloured and black population, in some respects still more painful. The most inveterate prejudices existed against them on account of their colour. Hence they were universally prohibited all intercourse of equality with the whites, and if of such an opprobrious distinction they ventured to complain, they were often insultingly told that they were "the descendants of the ourang-outang;" that their mothers hunted the tiger in the wilds of Africa; and that, but for the generosity of their sires, in place of possessing freedom and property, their lot would have been to dig cane-holes beneath the discipline of the driver's cart-whip.

At church, if a man of colour, however respectable in circumstances or character, entered the pew of the lowest white man, he was instantly ordered out. At any place of public entertainment designed for the whites, he never dared to make his appearance. With the people of colour, indeed, the whites, like the Egyptians in reference to the Israelites, held it an abomination even to eat bread. This senseless prejudice haunted its victims in the "hospital where humanity suffers, in the prison where it expiates its offences, and in the grave-yards where it sleeps the last sleep." In whomsoever the least trace of an African origin could be discovered, the curse of slavery pursued him, and no advantages either of wealth, talent, virtue, education, or accomplishments, were sufficient to relieve him from the infamous proscription.

Under these circumstances, who can be surprised that, among this class also, there should have existed an awful laxity of morals? Unlike their white progenitors, how-

ever, they were not generally chargeable with the vice of drunkenness, with opposition to the spread of religion, nor with bigotry, infidelity, and persecution. In every other respect, especially in licentiousness, they but too faithfully followed the example of the privileged orders. Alluding to the people of colour, says Stewart in 1823, "few marriages take place among them. Most of the females of colour think it more genteel to be the kept mistress of a white man." They viewed marriage as an unnecessary restraint. Worse than this;—and can it be heard by Christian parents without a thrill of horror?—in hundreds of instances, mothers and fathers gave away in friendship, or sold, their daughters at the tenderest ages for the worst of purposes, or became the guardians of their virtue for a time only to enhance its future price.

"Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,
To troll the tongue and roll the eye."

These were not isolated cases, exceptions rather than general rules; so common was the practice that negotiations for these purposes were carried on at noonday. Such was the debasement of moral feeling, that the most infamous excesses were perpetrated without a blush of shame, and among this class also there was one universal riot in the vicious indulgences of an indiscriminate sensuality.

Parents the reckless murderers of the innocence of their own offspring! Wanton and infamous abandonment of every fine and virtuous feeling! Alas! for the influence of slavery.

By the efforts of a few noble spirits among their body, amongst whom as the most conspicuous and influential were Richard Hill and Edward Jordon, Esqs., together with Messrs. Lescene, Escoffery, and Gonville, their disabilities were at length removed, and they were admitted to a full participation of civil privileges with the whites. This occurred in the year 1828. Relieved from those proscriptions by which they had been enthralled and bowed down, they as a body immediately began to advance in the scale of civilization, intelligence, and virtue, so that at the present time they discover a renovation of character and a degree of improvement in manners, customs, and knowledge, of which history, in a similar space of time,

scarcely affords a parallel. In their houses, dress, personal appearance (complexion excepted), general deportment, wealth, morals, and religion, many of them are on an equality with the most respectable of the whites. Nor are they less so in the higher attainments of the mind. There are now to be found among them men of talent, learning, and accomplishments, who would do honour to any community. They fill the public offices, practise as solicitors and barristers in the courts of law; are found among our tradesmen, merchants, and estate proprietors; are directors of our civil institutions; are enrolled among our magistrates; and have even obtained a seat and influence in the senate. The generosity of the females of colour has ever been proverbial; and their kindness to strangers suffering from the diseases of the country has won for them universal gratitude and admiration. Neither are they less remarkable for their social and domestic qualities. There have always been found among them some who in no respect suffered by a comparison with the most respectable of the whites. For several years this number has been increasing, and soon, by the possession of equal advantages, every thing like a characteristic distinction between these two classes will be lost.

"Children we are all
Of one great Father, in whatever clime

His providence hath cast the seed of life,—
All tongues, all colours! Neither after death
Shall we be sorted into languages
And tints—white, black, and tawny, Greek and Goth,
Northman and offspring of hot Africa;
Th' all-seeing Father—he in whom we live and
move—
He, th' indifferent Judge of all—regards
Nations, and hues, and dialects alike:
According to their works shall they be judged."

With this advancement on the part of the more educated portion of the people of colour there has been also a corresponding improvement on the part of the working classes and the higher orders of the blacks. The latter have advanced to that degree in the scale of civilization and intelligence formerly occupied by the people of colour, and the former to that previously held by their more favoured white brethren.

In no respect do these now differ from the middling and lower classes of tradesmen and others in England. Their eyes have long been open to the disgrace and sin of concubinage, and marriage among them has become common. The eye of the Christian is now delighted, especially on the Sabbath, by the spectacle of multitudes of these classes with their families walking to and from the house of God in company.

As in every other community, some may live together unhappily, or may violate the sacred compact, but with the great majority it is otherwise. None can be better hus-



[Mulatto and Black Female of the upper classes.]

bands, better wives, more affectionate parents, or better members of civil society. Nor are any people in general better disposed towards the great subject of religion.

CHAPTER XI.

SECT. I. POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE BLACK POPULATION.—Origin of the Slave Trade—Its Atrocities—Slaves, when first brought to Jamaica, and by whom—Dreadful Nature and consequences of Slavery as it existed in Jamaica.

SECT. II. ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—Origin of the African Institution—Efforts for ameliorating the Condition of the Slaves—Conduct of the Jamaica House of Assembly—Insurrection or Disturbance in 1832 and 1833—Its real Causes—Destruction of Mission Property—Wanton and Awful Sacrifice of Negro Life by the Whites—Imprisonment and Trial of Missionaries—Their triumphant Acquittal.

SECT. III. THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.—Its Impolicy, Injustice, and Cruelty—Inefficiency as a Preparative to Freedom—Special Magistrates—Excited and unsettled State of the Black Population as the Result of the Operation of this System—Representation of the State of Things by Missionaries—Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, and others.

SECT. IV. TOTAL EMANCIPATION.—Manner in which it was celebrated—Conduct of the Newly-Emancipated—Conduct of the Planters—Subsequent Differences—Establishment of new Villages—Restoration to Harmony and Peace—General Prosperity and Happiness.

SECTION I.—It has been already stated that, previously to its possession by the British, negroes had been imported into Jamaica by the Spaniards, a crime to the commission of which they were impelled by avarice, regarding it as the best means of supplying the want of labourers created by the destruction of the aboriginal inhabitants. In thus making merchandise of the bodies and souls of men they followed the example of the Portuguese, who began the infamous traffic in 1442 at Cape Bojador, under their celebrated navigator Anthony Gonzalez. Great numbers are said to have been imported into Jamaica as early as 1551, under the sanction of Ferdinand V. of Spain.

But the first cargo of which we have any authentic record was conveyed to the island by some Genoese merchants in 1517, to whom the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent for the annual supply of 4000 slaves to his West Indian possessions generally.

The traffic was found to be lucrative, and the lust of avarice obliterating all

sense of justice and every feeling of humanity, it was soon participated in by all the great maritime powers of Europe.

The first Englishman who thus dishonoured himself and his country was Captain, afterwards Sir John Hawkins, who, in conjunction with several wealthy merchants in London, fitted out three ships on this execrable enterprise in 1562.

Sanctioned by Charles I. and II., as well as by succeeding monarchs, to such an extent had it increased under the British flag, that, in 1771, one hundred and ninety-two ships were employed in the trade, and the number of slaves imported was from 38,000 to 40,000.

The hapless victims of this revolting system were natives of the African continent—men of the same common origin with ourselves,—of the same form and delineation of feature, though with a darker skin,—men endowed with minds equal in dignity, equal in capacity, and equal in duration of existence,—men of the same social dispositions and affections, and destined to occupy the same rank with ourselves in the great family of man.

The means by which they were obtained were in the highest degree unlawful and unjust. Their inhuman captors had nothing like a colourable pretext to assign for their rapacity: their fiend-like purposes were accomplished by violence, fire, and every other instrument of devastation and murder which sagacity could contrive, or the lust of avarice prompt. Every tie, human and divine, was violated.

Nobles and princes were severed from their tribes and territories; husbands, wives, and children from each other. They were barbarously manacled,—driven like herds of cattle to the sea-shore, oftentimes at a distance of some hundreds of miles, exposed to the burning heat and pestilential atmosphere of their sun-burnt lands, and then crowded into the holds of slave-ships. Arrived at the destined port (for a veil must be cast over the horrors of the middle passage), these poor wretches were sold at public outcry to the highest bidder,—were driven in chains (frequently naked) by their purchasers to their respective domiciles, and the greater part of them doomed to toil almost without rest or intermission, until relieved by death from their captivity and suffering.

Chiefly by the self-denying and arduous

exertions of the eminent philanthropists Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce, aided by different religious bodies, but especially by the Society of Friends, the righteous indignation of the British people was at length aroused by the atrocities which this hateful traffic involved, and, no longer able to resist the united claims of reason, justice and humanity, in 1807 the imperial parliament decreed its abolition. While, however, this act prevented the importation of fresh victims into the colony, slavery itself, with all its enormities, still existed. Those already brought were reduced to a state of vassalage, the most degrading to which human beings could be subjected, stripped of every right that life holds dear, outcasts from the common privileges of humanity, deprived of the essential attributes of man, without a legal claim to the produce of their own labour, or even to the possession of their wives and children. Driven to their labour by the cart-whip, classed with appurtenances of the estates to which they belonged, and bred for the exclusive purposes of sale and labour, their condition was not distinguishable from that of the passive brute. As though to keep their spirits in perpetual prostration, and to extinguish every spark of the man within them, many were branded like sheep or oxen, with the initials of their owner's name, an indignity to which they were liable as often as their purchaser was changed. They were perpetually liable to arbitrary, indecent, and excessive punishment. The most trifling circumstances could easily be magnified into crimes which would nerve the arm of the despot to whom this power was delegated, and who, at his pleasure, could inflict whatever punishment he chose, without any regard to condition, sex or age.

Not only did the task-master torture the bodies of his vassals by the whip, but he also corrupted their morals by his licentiousness. There was no law either to guard the *chastity* of a *female* slave, or to avenge any insult that might be offered to her violated honour. Nay more, the simple expression of nature on the part of a slave as he witnessed the ruin of his wife, his mother, or his daughter by any of the white fraternity, was legally prohibited, and an attempt to protect them might be punishable with death. Thus, as they had no protection in their domestic inter-

course, so neither had they any security in their sympathies and sorrows. They were subject to punishment at all times, which was inflicted by various legalized instruments of torture, by the common stocks, the thumb-screw, the field stocks, the iron collar, the yoke, the block and tackle, and the cart-whip.

For running away from severe usage, a slave was deemed rebellious, and might be mutilated. Acts for which a white man would be only imprisoned were deemed capital crimes in a slave. If any event transpired which could be construed into an insurrection, these poor creatures were shot like wild beasts, or hunted down with blood-hounds; if they made the least resistance they were hewn to pieces; if taken, were doomed to banishment or hopeless imprisonment. If actually concerned in treasonable practices, they were condemned without trial, and expiated their crimes by sufferings inflicted with a wantonness of cruelty never exceeded by the most degraded barbarians.

While however their oppressors, as caprice or passion dictated, could thus inflict upon their wretched vassals sufferings almost beyond endurance, a slave who raised his hand by nature's instinct for his own protection, or struck, or dared to strike, or used any violence towards, or compassed or imagined, the death of a master or mistress, was doomed to suffer death without benefit of clergy. On the other hand, the murder of a slave by a white man was a venial offence, and from the inadmissibility of slave evidence often escaped punishment altogether. The slave was therefore entirely unprotected from the tyranny of his master, nor could he be a party in any civil action, either as plaintiff, defendant, informant, or prosecutor, *against any person of free condition*. Thus he was protected only as an inferior animal. Should he be maimed by a free person, the damage would not be awarded to him, but to his master. Even the natural right of self-defence was denied to a slave. Notwithstanding, however, his exclusion from the protection of the law, he was liable to its restraints, and thus underwent the miseries of a beast of burden without enjoying its immunities. Such was the penal code to which the slaves were subjected. The manner in which they were tried was, if possible, still more disgraceful and op-

pressive. On charges which did not affect their lives, it was competent for a single justice, or for two at most, to decide.

The little huts in which they resided, lowly though they were, yet being of their own erecting, the rural spots which they had cultivated around them, and the trees by which they were embosomed, planted by their own hands, and beneath the shade of which they had so often rested from their toils, and especially the circumstance that these spots were hallowed by the tombs of their friends and kindred, would naturally beget local attachments of a most powerful, and almost superstitious character. But from these spots, thus hallowed by affection, thus endeared by all the feelings which constitute *home*, and perhaps the only objects that ever awakened the tenderness of their hearts, they were liable to be torn away for ever, and with it, from their wives, their children, and all the companions of their youth, torn away either at the caprice of their master, or in execution for his debts—sold by auction to the highest bidder, and carried into a strange and unknown neighbourhood.

“Numerous and cruel though the oppressions are, by which the poor negroes are degraded, tormented, and destroyed,” says Mr. Stephen, “there are two which I have regarded as by far the worst, not only because the most general and afflictive, but because they give birth, and virulence, and tenacity to almost all the rest—I mean the truly enormous amount of field-labour to which the negroes are coerced, and the almost incredible degree of parsimony with which they are maintained.” Their labour, under the fervent heat of a tropical sun, was indeed cruelly excessive, sufficient, during a comparatively short period of time, to expend the vigour and exhaust the spirits of the strongest and most energetic frame, inasmuch as they had to perform by manual operation those processes which, in every other country, are performed by horses, oxen, and machinery. In thousands of instances did it induce exhaustion and weakness, sickness, and premature death, facts of which no question can be entertained, it having been proved to a demonstration that the destruction of human life in those islands where sugar is most cultivated has been going on at a rate which, were it generally

to prevail, would depopulate the earth in half a century.*

And for all these wearisome labours they received no wages; their toil was purely unrequited—unrequited not merely in a pecuniary sense, but frequently as it respected lodging, clothing, and food. Nor from their wretched condition was there any prospect of deliverance. The better their behaviour the more likely were they to be detained in bondage. No legal facilities were afforded by which they might be enabled to purchase their freedom, even if they possessed the means; on the contrary, the law actually interfered to prevent masters, who might be thus inclined, from giving them their liberty. They would have had one solace, had this dreary doom been *only* their own; but it was not. It was hereditary. Slavery seemed to be a taint in the blood which no length of time, no change of relationship, could obliterate; it was entailed on the posterity of the slave to the remotest period. Their children and their children’s children, through each successive generation, were heirs of the same inheritance.

But there is still another light in which the condition of the negro must be viewed. Not only were their bodily sufferings almost beyond endurance—not only were they consigned by thousands to a premature grave, and given over to dreary, hopeless, and hereditary bondage, but their cruel task-masters carefully excluded them from all opportunities of Divine worship, and thus interposed their power between them and their Creator, as though determined to retain them in ignorance of the gospel, as the only effectual means of perpetuating the existence of their inhuman system. Thus, as clearly expressed in the Consolidated Slave Act of 1816, they were not permitted to attend a place of worship, or to engage in religious duties in their own habitation, without a special license from the magistrates. And for the crime of worshipping God without their masters’ permission they were ever liable to punishment.

“O for the day when slavery shall not be
Where England rules, but all her sons be free;
When Western India, and Mauritia’s isle,
Loosed from their bands, shall learn at length to smile;
When colour shall no longer man degrade,
And Christ by all shall be alike obey’d.”

* See Sir Fowell Buxton’s admirable work on the Slave Trade.

SECTION II.—This state of things continued until the year 1814, a year distinguished by the pledge given for the abolition of the traffic by the representatives of the great powers of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, which led to discussions in the British Parliament on the subject of slavery as it existed in the colonies. At the same time awful disclosures were continually being made by the African Association, a society formed on the 14th of June, 1807, by the great philanthropists of the day, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, Stephen, Macaulay, Buxton, Allen and others, for the promotion of the general interests of the African race, and of which his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester was president. Missionaries of different denominations becoming more numerous, more familiar with the atrocities of the system, and less able to submit to the prudential restraints enjoined upon them by the societies to which they belonged, added their testimony as eye-witnesses to the mass of evidence already before the public, and the sympathies of the country were again powerfully excited. Mr. Wilberforce, now greatly enfeebled, was succeeded, as the great parliamentary champion of the African race, by Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., who, like his predecessor, with a heart deeply imbued with philanthropic feelings, and unappalled by the difficulties and obloquy which stared him in the face, in March, 1823, brought forward a resolution in the House of Commons, “declaring that slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions.” It was intended that this resolution should be at once succeeded by ameliorative measures; and though the motion was rejected by the House, yet the feelings and sentiments of the nation were not to be disregarded; and to allay the general excitement, one of a similar, though less comprehensive kind, was substituted by Mr. Canning. This was at length adopted, and recommended to the consideration of the Colonial Legislature. It was received by them with indignation, and finally rejected with contempt and scorn. Ebullitions of feeling against the missionaries of different denominations, but against the Baptists missionaries in particular, were now more violent than ever.

They were denounced, both by the white portion of the populace, by the press (long the vehicle of malignant and vulgar defamation), and by the Colonial Legislature, as being in league with the Anti-Slavery Society, by whom the Government was instigated to effect their ruin. In common with missionaries of other denominations, they were frequently cited before Committees of the House of Assembly for the most contemptible of purposes—harassed with warrants for not serving in the militia, circumscribed and impeded in their benevolent efforts by oppressive laws, and treated with all the indignity and virulence which prejudice and mortified tyranny could dictate. In Barbadoes and Demerara these feelings, no longer capable of control, were vented in the demolition of a Wesleyan chapel, accompanied by other outrages, which were consummated by the murder of the missionary Smith.

These grievances, with the means adopted for their redress, together with the factious opposition of the colonists to the reasonable requisitions of the Government, served to diffuse still more widely a knowledge of the evils of the existing system, and had the effect of uniting all classes and societies of professing Christians in a prompt and determined effort for remedial measures. The Anti-Slavery Society was more than ever diligent in the diffusion of its publications—lecturers were appointed to traverse the country to inform more generally the public mind—the pulpit lent its aid to the same great object, as the result of which, petitions from all parts of the land poured into both houses of Parliament in such numbers that the appeals could no longer be withstood. The Colonial Legislature was requested by Lord Goderich, in 1831, to reconsider the despatches of Earl Bathurst in 1823. The recommendation was again treated with general contempt, while the most inflammatory speeches were made throughout the country, both in public and private, against the missionaries and the British Government, accompanied by menaces of rebellion on the part of the white inhabitants against the parent state, and a transfer of their allegiance to America. In one instance they were accompanied by an act of lawless violence, connected with the Wesleyan missionary and chapel, at St. Anne’s Bay. At night, while the white

company of the militia was on guard, the house of the Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe, in which he, his wife, and children resided, was violently attacked by a party armed with fire-arms, who, without the slightest provocation, lodged fourteen bullets within the walls. This occurred in December, 1826, and was brought before the House of Commons in the month of March following by Dr. Lushington. These circumstances had the effect of exciting the suspicions of the negroes that freedom had been granted them by the King, but that it was withheld by their masters, which led to the resolution on the part of some of the slaves in the parishes of St. James and Trelawney, to test the truth of the report by a refusal to work after the Christmas holidays, except for wages as freemen. Among the leaders and others in this movement were found individuals connected with the Baptist and other churches in the parish of St. James; no sooner however was this known to the missionaries on the spot than they exerted themselves to the utmost to undeceive the misguided multitude. This object it is probable they might have accomplished, but for the measures that were instantly adopted by the authorities. Martial law was proclaimed, and the militia, composed chiefly of the planters in the districts, exasperated to the direst revenge, commenced hostilities. Retaliation was provoked, and the most wanton and horrible cruelties perpetrated by the whites, accompanied by outrages on the Baptist missionaries, and the destruction of the Baptist and Wesleyan chapels in the neighbourhood. These atrocities were sanctioned, and even abetted, with but one or two exceptions, by the magistrates and other local authorities, who at length committed the missionaries to prison on *suspicion* of their having instigated the "rebellion." This suspicion was magnified into a charge, and they were tried for their lives. The vilest and most despicable means which diabolical malice and depraved prejudice could devise were employed to fix the guilt of this charge upon them, but not a single accusation could be substantiated. The principal sufferers in these shameful outrages, whose hardships and indignities were almost indescribable, were Messrs. Gardner, Burchell, Knibb, Abbott, Whitehorn, Baylis, Kingdon, Taylor, and Barlow, Baptists; and Messrs. Bleby and Box, Wesleyans.

But for the high patronage which they enjoyed, it is probable that both the Presbyterian missionaries and the Evangelical clergy would equally have shared in these disgraceful outrages.

"Usually the best friends of mankind," says a quaint writer, "those who most heartily wish the peace and prosperity of the world, and most earnestly strive to promote them, have all the disturbances and disasters happening charged on them by those fiery vixens who really do themselves embroil things, and raise combustions in the world." So in the present case.

Fourteen chapels were destroyed belonging to the Baptist Missionary Society, with private houses and other property, amounting to 23,250*l*.* Six chapels belonging to

* The following letters, which the author, who was then in England, received from his esteemed missionary brethren, the Rev. J. Clarke and H. C. Taylor, who were supplying his church in his absence, will illustrate the spirit by which these calumniated missionaries were actuated, as well as the dangers which surrounded them.

After stating that the rebellion was a contest carried on by wicked men for the perpetuation of slavery, Brother C. continues—"It is consoling to think that God will maintain his cause, and in his own time turn the councils of the wicked into foolishness. Our trust is in him: and daily we appear in his house to present our supplications at his throne of mercy in the name of our adorable Redeemer—and we know that we are regarded. For many weeks past we have kept a regular watch to protect the chapel, as we had good evidence that many wicked men had united in order to pull it down.

"Three persons, not connected with us, came forward and made affidavits, certifying that they had been invited by a Mr. ——— to join in this evil work. The case was represented at the Peace Office, and Mr. H. was bound over to keep the peace. But we are far from being secure, as prejudice still runs exceedingly high, and those in power are quite as bad as others.

"What a fearful tale will soon be told you, and is now being told of Jamaica! What will be the consequences we cannot tell. Many a night have we lain down in your house in Spanish Town, expecting to be aroused before morning to attempt to prevent the destruction of the premises. Blessed be God! all is yet safe; and we trust he will restrain the violence of wicked men, and overrule all past evils for the glory of his own great and holy name."—August 11, 1832.

"Things are still unsettled," says Mr. T.; "the negroes do not fight, but fire places, and retire to the woods and hills. If reports are true, I by no means consider myself safe; and I think it not very unlikely but that one or more of the ministers of religion will be sacrificed. The whites are thirsting for our blood. All is quiet, I am happy to say, on the south side of the island, so far as regards the slaves; but as to the whites, they are striving with all their might to breed disturbances, by pulling down class-houses, threatening the missionaries, and punishing the slaves for praying. I was on Monday had up to the Peace Office. Three affidavits were sworn to against me for seditious preaching, but as the affidavits were contradictory of each other, the object of the parties was defeated. On the following Sabbath one of these in-

the Wesleyans were demolished, with a total loss of 6000*l.* in property. To carry out a project long cherished and threatened for expelling all the dissenting missionaries from the island, and which it is suspected was the real origin of the insurrection, a Colonial Church Union was formed, and a system of persecution continued, unparalleled in the history of modern times. Meanwhile Mr. Knibb of the Baptist Missionary Society, and Messrs. Duncan and Barry, of the Wesleyan body, sailed for England, followed by Mr. Burchell, whose united statements and appeals, accompanied and sustained by the evidence furnished by themselves and others to both houses of parliament, on the subject of slavery in general, excited, to a degree hitherto unparalleled, the indignation of the British people, and the thought of ameliorative measures was lost in the determination, that *slavery itself should cease*. Not content with inflicting sufferings almost beyond endurance upon the bodies of his wretched vassals, and consigning them to a premature grave, the monster had now lifted up his palsied hand and attempted to interpose his malignant power between his victims and their Creator, as the only means of perpetuating his own existence. This was to wage war with Omnipotence, and his doom was sealed.

Christians of every denomination, patriots and philanthropists of every rank and name, simultaneously arose and petitioned with united voice and with a firm-

formers came again, thinking, probably, I should notice the Peace Office business, but I made no allusion to it whatever, determining, as I have ever done, to aim at winning souls. I therefore chose for my text — 'Except ye repent,' &c.

"The chapel was very full; several white people were there whom I never saw before. This day poor Brother Nichols and his wife came from St. Anne's Bay. A set of ruffians entered the chapel there by force on the Friday night about ten o'clock. They beat out the windows, and threw out the benches. Brother N. called out murder, and the depredators ran away.

"Things are now more alarming. You have heard of the destruction of the chapels on the north side, but the Governor issued a Proclamation against it. This destruction of the chapels occurred when martial law had ceased, not by the blacks, but by the whites; who therefore are the rebels now?

"Troopers were about all last night. We go this morning to the Custos to know what is to be done. There is a rumour now abroad of a conspiracy to burn down all the chapels in Kingston and Spanish Town. Our people were guarding ours all last night; the women, especially, are determined to defend it to the last. Several of our missionary brethren, with their wives, have fled hither for refuge."

ness and determination not to be resisted or delayed, that liberty, immediate and unconditional, the birth-right of every man, should be at once enjoyed by Africans and their descendants, throughout the British dominions, equally with other subjects of the realm.

SECTION III.—The great cause, as it might be supposed, was espoused by the reformed parliament under Earl Grey, which assembled May the 14th, 1833, and was brought forward by Lord Stanley, then Secretary for the Colonies. The result was the substitution of an apprenticeship system during a period of twelve years, afterwards reduced to six years, with a compensation of twenty millions as an indemnity to the planters. This boon was hailed by the slaves and by their friends, both in England and the colonies, with the greatest public demonstrations of joy.

The following is the substance of the Act introduced by Lord Stanley, and which passed the British parliament on this memorable occasion, one of the brightest that stands upon the statute-book of English law and English freedom, the Magna Charta of negro rights:—

"Be it enacted, that all and every one of the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British colony as aforesaid, shall, upon and from and after the said first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted; and that the children thereafter born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth; and that from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad."

In the meantime the Earl of Belmore, during whose administration these disgraceful outrages occurred, was recalled, and the Earl of Mulgrave succeeded as Governor. By a happy combination of

wisdom, firmness and energy, added to liberal and enlightened views, his Excellency, now the Marquis of Normanby, restored tranquillity to the distracted community, and induced the legislature to accede to the proposals of the parent state. After nearly two years of almost ceaseless effort and annoyance his Excellency relinquished the government, a step to which he was urged by personal and relative affliction. The Marquis of Sligo was now appointed to see this great measure carried into effect, a duty which he nobly performed. And when at length the memorable day arrived on which this boon was to be bestowed, it was welcomed and celebrated throughout the island with high and holy joy—welcomed and celebrated not only for the immediate blessings which followed in its train, but as the dawn of temporal liberty to the world, and the harbinger to the degraded sons of Africa of

“A liberty
Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the pow’rs
Of earth and hell confederate take away,
Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more—
The liberty of heart derived from heaven.”

Man now ceased to be the property of man. The former slaves were now to labour, not at the caprice of an absolute owner, enforced by the whip of an arbitrary and irresponsible task-master, but by settled rules. They were now to be under the influence of known and settled laws, administered by special and duly appointed magistrates, on sufficient evidence in open courts—their evidence was now received in a court of justice—they were admitted to a participation of civil privileges with freemen—they could rear their own children, and dispose of their own property: but this was all. They had not yet the right of self-disposal and self-management—not yet the privilege of selecting their own employments, or of choosing their own masters: and, as it is unreasonable to suppose that the faults of years were to be eradicated in a day, or the tyranny of the passions to be crushed in an hour—that the man who had treated the slave as a brute would regard him as a man and a brother from the simple act of manumission, the humane and well-intentioned provisions of the Act were evaded and neutralized by local enactments and by partial and vicious adjudication. While, however, it is confessed that the system was less

harsh and revolting than actual slavery in some of its features, it was far from being so in others. It was only a *modification of slavery*—a substitution of half measures for the whole: and hence it not only failed to accomplish the end designed, but in some respects was made an occasion of greater oppression than slavery itself—it was *slavery disguised*: “and disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery, still thou art a bitter draught.” During the short period of two years, 60,000 apprentices received, in the aggregate, one-quarter of a million of lashes, and 50,000 other punishments by the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, and other means of legalized torture; so that, instead of a diminution, there was a frightful addition to the miseries of the negro population, inducing a degree of discontent and exasperation among them never manifested under the previous system; and which, but for the influence exerted by the Governor, the missionaries, and some of the special magistrates, would, in all probability, have broken out into open and general rebellion. It was, in a word, a scheme fraught with greater difficulties in its operation than can be conceived. It was expensive, partial, criminal, and altogether useless—of no avail but for the purposes of dissension, strife and anarchy—“*Nam timor eventus deterioris abest.*” It was unsatisfactory to all parties, and beneficial to none. In addition to the evils it entailed on those more immediately concerned in its operation, it was a source of the most unparalleled difficulty, labour, and obloquy, to the noble-minded individuals under whose eventful and successive administrations it was carried on.* It was defective as a system abstractedly considered; and it had, in addition, to contend against obstacles inseparable from inveterate custom, and morally insurmountable.

It therefore failed—and failed signally. It was obnoxious to the master—hateful to

* “The whipping of females, you were informed by me, officially, was in practice; and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, and so contrary to law. So far from passing an Act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it. I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the Secretary of State, of the injustice of the cutting off the hair of females in the House of Correction, previous to trial. You have paid no attention to the subject.”—Speech of the Marquis of Sligo to the Jamaica House of Assembly.

the slave—and perplexing to the special magistrates. Placed, as these latter individuals were, almost entirely at the mercy of the planters, few had the moral courage or the moral principle to withstand the consequences of a faithful and conscientious discharge of their duty. Among the few whom no bribes could seduce, and no threats intimidate—some resigned their office in disgust—others sunk beneath the pressure of excessive labour, anxiety, and persecution. Of those that survive, the names of Hill, Palmer, Maddan, Daugh-trey, Baynes, Grant, Bourne, and Kent, will be distinguished and cherished by the great mass of the inhabitants to the latest posterity. *Slavery will admit of no modification.* Under these circumstances, representations as to the nature and effects of the Apprenticeship System were soon made by the Baptist Missionaries;* by the philanthropic Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, who personally acquainted themselves with its results; and successively by the noble-minded Governors, the Marquis of Sligo† and Sir Lionel Smith; and truth and justice for the last time stood forth and demanded the fulfillment of their claims. Within the short space of about six months, deputations, varying in number from 140 to 400, assembled in London from different parts of the three kingdoms; Downing-street and Westminster Hall were again besieged; and petitions, signed by upwards of one million of British subjects, in which 450,000 English, 135,000 Scotch, and upwards of 77,000 Irish females—a mighty host, marshalled and led on by the piety, talent, learning, eloquence, and philanthropy of the best portion of the public

press*—imperatively demanded the abolition of the System on the ground of a violation of the contract by the planters. For a time the boon was delayed, and the British Lion was provoked to anger: he put forth his might, and the monster Slavery was no more.

SECTION IV.—At length the advocates of liberty and the champions of the oppressed reaped the glorious reward of their self-denying and philanthropic labours. On the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten 1st of August, 1838, 800,000 African bondmen were made fully and unconditionally free. “An act of legislation the most magnanimous and sublime in the annals of the world, and which will be the glory of England and the admiration of posterity, when her proudest military and naval achievements shall have faded from the recollections of mankind;” an event which transpired at the most auspicious period of the history of the world—at a time of the most profound and general peace ever enjoyed since Augustus Cæsar shut the gates of Janus—when the crown of the mightiest empire of the world had just been placed on the youthful brow of VICTORIA, the beloved mistress of a free people.

When a century shall have passed away—when statesmen are forgotten—when reason shall regain her influence over prejudice and interest, and other generations are wondering at the false estimate their forefathers formed of human glory—“on the page of history one deed shall stand out in whole relief—one consenting voice pronounce” that the greatest honour England ever attained was when, with her Sovereign at her head, she proclaimed **THE SLAVE IS FREE**, and established in practice what even AMERICA recognises in THEORY: *that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

On the evening of the day preceding that which witnessed the actual bestowment of the inestimable boon on the apprentices of Jamaica, the towns and missionary sta-

* The following is a specimen of the language used towards the missionaries at this period by some of the members of the Honourable House of Assembly. It was used by the Hon. A—D—in a debate on a bill to legalize marriages by dissenting ministers.—“The report of a committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship System would that day be presented, by which it would be clearly shown that the evil which now prevailed—the non-working of the Apprenticeship System, indeed all the mischief of the present day—was to be attributed to the interference of the sectarian preachers; they were a set of lawless miscreants in whom no faith was to be placed, from whom no security could be obtained. They had no reputation to lose, or character to give weight to their evidence in a court of justice.”

† The Marquis of Sligo, who is a large proprietor in Jamaica, nobly confirmed his sentiments by liberating all his apprentices before the act of final emancipation was carried, which had great influence on the abandonment of the system.

* Very valuable assistance was especially given on this occasion in London by “The Sun,” “The Globe,” “The Patriot,” “The Morning Herald,” and the different religious periodicals, and seconded by a large portion of the provincial press, as well as by that of Ireland and Scotland.

tions throughout the island were crowded with people especially interested in the event, and who, filling the different places of worship, remained in some instances performing different acts of devotion until the day of liberty dawned, when they saluted it with the most joyous acclaim; others, before and after similar services, dispersed themselves in different directions through the towns and villages singing the national anthem and devotional hymns, occasionally rending the air with their acclamations of "Freedom's come;" "We're free, we're free; our wives and our children are free." On the following day the places of worship were thrown open, and crowded almost to suffocation; in many instances even the whole premises of a missionary establishment were occupied. Sermons were preached applicable to the event, devout thanksgivings to Almighty God at the throne of grace, mingled with songs of praise, ascended up to Heaven from every part of the land. The scenes presented exceeded all description. The whole island exhibited a state of joyous excitement as though miraculously chastened and regulated by the hallowed influences of religion.*

After the services of the day at Spanish Town, which were deeply interesting, the congregation collected in and about the Baptist Chapel, numbering full 7000 souls, were to be addressed by his Excellency the Governor. These, with the children of the schools, which amounted to 2000, accordingly walked in procession to the square opposite the Government House, headed by their pastor, displaying flags and banners, which bore a variety of interesting inscriptions. Although joy brightened every countenance, the procession moved on with all the apparent solemnity of a funeral, and in a few minutes after it made its appearance, his Excellency the Governor, surrounded by the bishop, his honour the Chief Justice, and other high official functionaries, addressed the immense mass of apprentices thus congregated, in a speech characterized by much simplicity, affection, and energy. During the delivery of the speech, his Excellency was greeted by reiterated and enthusiastic cheering, being

regarded by the people as their friend and benefactor. After about an hour, the mass having given three cheers for the Queen and three for Sir Lionel, followed their pastor to the Baptist mission premises, cheering him in the most enthusiastic manner.

Arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel, the multitude surrounded him, grasped him in their arms, and bore him, in the midst of shouts and caresses, into his house. The enthusiasm of the multitude being now wound up to the highest pitch, they declared themselves unwilling to separate without greeting the different flags. The flags and banners were accordingly unfurled, and for nearly an hour the air rang with the shouts of exultation that were thus poured forth from thousands of joyous hearts.

The school-children had remained behind to sing several airs before the Government house, and just as the mass were cheering the last banner, upon which was inscribed in large capitals, "We are free! we are free! our wives and our children are free!" they all entered, and, adding their shrill voices to the rest, raised a shout that seemed to rend the air. Over the two principal entrances to the chapel were three triumphal arches, decorated with leaves and flowers, and crowned with flags, bearing the several inscriptions of "Freedom's come," "Slavery is no more," "Thy chains are broken, Africa is free;" while in addition to these, and the flags and banners borne by the procession, one was seen waving from the cupola of the metropolitan school-rooms,* bearing "the 1st of August, 1838," ornamented by a painted wreath of laurel. The bethel flag floated over the chapel, and the Union Jack over the minister's house, which is situated in the middle of the two.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Teacher of the Sunday-School, with Union Jack.
 Master of Metropolitan Day-School—Mr. Kirby.
 Superintendent of Sabbath-School, Wm. Groom, Esq.
 Children and Teachers,
 bearing at regular intervals flags and banners with the subjoined devices,
 "Education, social order, and religion."
 "Wisdom and knowledge the stability of the times."
 "Knowledge is power."
 "Peace, industry, and commerce."
 "Freedom's bright day hath dawned at last."
 The Pastor.
 Deacons of the Church.

* Even the irreligious part of the community on this memorable occasion seemed inspired with religious feeling, and flocked in crowds to the House of God.

* Connected with the Mission premises.

Two silk flags—"Glory to God," "The slave is free."

Singers.

Two silk flags—"Victoria," "Sir Lionel Smith."

Mass of about 500 persons.

Large banner borne by four—"1st August, 1838."

Mass of about 500.

Two silk flags, "Earl of Mulgrave," "Marquis of Sligo."

Mass of about 500.

Three silk flags—"Sturge," "Brougham," "Liberty."

Mass of about 500.

Flags with the following inscriptions were distributed variously throughout the remaining part of the procession :

1. "Am I not a man and a brother?"
2. "The day of our freedom."
3. "England, land of liberty, of light, of life."
4. "Ethiopia bends her knee to God and gives him glory."
5. "Freedom shall henceforth for ever be enjoyed throughout the British empire."
6. "Equal rights and privileges."
7. "Philanthropy, patriotism, and religion, have, under God, achieved for us this glorious triumph."
8. "Emancipation in peace, in harmony, in safety, and acquiescence, on all sides."
9. "Truth, justice, and right have at length prevailed."
10. "Let strife and conflict from these lands be driven,
And men and masters fill the path to heaven."
11. "May the cause of mercy triumph in both hemispheres."
12. "The 1st of August, 1838, never to be forgotten through all generations."

On the evening of the following day a charitable bazaar was opened at the metropolitan school-rooms, which were most beautifully illuminated and adorned by characteristic transparencies. His Excellency the Governor and suite were present; his honour the Chief Justice and lady, several members of the Council and House of Assembly, several military officers, and most of the respectable and influential inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. "Altogether the number of visitors and persons assembled could not," says a respectable spectator, "have been less than 4000." Several rural fêtes were held on different estates in the same parish in commemoration of the event, attended also in some instances by his Excellency the Governor and suite, and in all cases by proprietors or their representatives, as also by magistrates and other respectable portions of the community. Of these, it may not be uninteresting to afford the following specimen which occurred at the Farm Pen, the property of Lord Carrington, and which united the peasantry of that nobleman and Lord Seaford.

From previous reports, and the general belief that his Excellency the Governor

and suite would honour the entertainment with their presence, considerable interest was created throughout the neighbourhood. As soon as his Excellency and aide-de-camp arrived within a few hundred yards of the scene of conviviality, his Excellency's horses were instantaneously detached from the carriage, and replaced by some of the most athletic young men of the two properties, who drew it along at full speed, amidst the waving of banners and the deafening cheers of the people. His Excellency was then conducted to a kind of rustic saloon prepared for the occasion, where he was received by the Honourable Joseph Gordon, the attorney of the estate. The tables were stretched along a beautiful lawn between the great house and the negro village, and were enclosed in their whole extent, which could not have been less than 200 feet, by a beautiful and highly-finished fabric of evergreens, adorned with chaplets and festoons of flowers. The exterior presented to the eye, at a distance, the appearance of a spacious arcade in the Gothic style—the graceful cocoa-nut branch tastefully woven, forming the numerous arches and columns. The inside was fitted up in a style still more chaste and elegant, being, in addition to the ornaments culled from Nature's garden, supplied with various articles of household furniture, and adorned with flags of different colours, on which were inscribed the names of the illustrious living characters who, under God, had achieved the glorious triumph they were met to celebrate.

Every thing being announced as ready, the company, numbering about 300, advanced to the repast. The minister then invoked the divine blessing upon it in the verse beginning with—

"Be present at our table, Lord,"

which was sung by the assembly with such a becoming seriousness as gave a tone to the whole proceedings of the evening. The Honourable Joseph Gordon presided. On his right was seated his Excellency the Governor. The other guests were variously distributed around, among whom appeared several ladies and gentlemen of the first respectability.

The tables were very tastefully laid out, the necessary apparatus having been kindly lent by different respectable inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and the viands,

which were partially supplied in the same manner, were abundant and of excellent quality. The appetite at length subdued, the whole company rose and gave thanks by singing—

“Praise God from whom all blessings flow.”

Although scarcely any intoxicating drinks were used, it was natural on such an occasion that toasts should be given. The president accordingly gave the health of Her Majesty the Queen; this was responded to with rapturous applause, and was succeeded by a verse of the national anthem, which was sung with great effect. The health of Sir Lionel Smith, as the representative of Her Majesty, followed, and the words, “to the health of our excellent Governor” were no sooner pronounced than one simultaneous and enthusiastic shout of applause burst forth from the assembled multitude. The choir again struck up—

“Joy, for every yoke is broken,
And the oppressed all go free,
Let us hail it as a token
That our much loved land may be
Blessed of the Lord most high,
Ruler of the earth and sky.

“In blest communion may we all
Keep holy freedom’s festival;
Let shades of difference be forgot,
Parties and sects remembered not,
While Christians all with joy agree
To keep the Negro Jubilee.”

His Excellency returned thanks in a very excellent and appropriate speech, expressing his confident hope of the future prosperity of the country as the result of the late glorious event, and exhorting both masters and servants to the cultivation of feelings of mutual confidence and good will, as the best means of securing it. It would convey but an inadequate idea of the reality to say that the advice was appreciated. It was responded to by acclamation, amidst which his Excellency retired, highly gratified with everything he had heard and seen.

The late noble-minded and beloved Governors, the Earl of Mulgrave and the Marquis of Sligo, were remembered with equal honour and enthusiasm.

The head man on the property next arose, and in a respectful manner requested that he might be allowed to propose a toast, adding that he was sure it would meet with the warmest approbation of all present: it was the health, long life, and happiness, both in time and eternity, of

Lords Carrington and Seaford, with that also of their esteemed and liberal-minded attorney, Joseph Gordon, Esq., a proposition that was loudly greeted, as was also Mr. Gordon’s acknowledgment, both on behalf of the two noble Lords and himself. The scene was overpowering, and could not fail to produce a salutary effect on all present.

This was closed by singing to the tune “America”—

“O Lord, upon Jamaica shine
With beams of sovereign grace,
Reveal thy power through all our coasts,
And show thy smiling face;

“Amidst this isle exalted high
Do thou our glory stand,
And like a wall of guardian fire
Surround our favoured land.”

Feelings of esteem and gratitude were expressed towards the minister and his family present on the occasion, in which the honourable president united, as also to the special magistrates of the district, who severally expressed their obligations in return. Cheers were now given for Lord Mulgrave, for Lord Sligo, for Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Brougham, and Sturge; for the ladies of Great Britain and Ireland; for the missionaries and other philanthropists in Jamaica, and for the friends of liberty throughout the world. The meeting then separated, each individual going peacefully and joyfully to his home. This was nearly the last of the entertainments held in commemoration of this glorious event, and it may not be improper, therefore, to follow the account with a few observations.

The conduct of the newly emancipated peasantry throughout the island would have done credit to Christians of the most civilized country in the world. At none of their repasts was there anything Bacchanalian. Their behaviour was modest, unassuming, and decorous in a high degree. There was no crowding, no vulgar familiarity; all were as courteous, civil, and obliging to each other as members of one harmonious family; all were also clean and neat in their persons and attire. There was no dancing, no noisy mirth, no carousing, no gambling, or any of the rude pastimes and sports which often disgrace seasons of public rejoicing in England; neither did there seem to be the least desire on the part of the people so to commemorate the

event. All expressed their sense of the obligations under which they were laid to a faithful and conscientious discharge of the duties they owed to their masters and to one another, as well as to the civil authorities. Ministers of religion were earnestly invited to preside, or to direct them in all their arrangements. God was universally recognised as the giver of the bounties enjoyed, and from first to last He was regarded as the *Great Author* of their deliverance from bondage. Their conduct was admitted by every respectable beholder, and even by those who were not influenced by the best of motives in mingling with the spectators, as unexceptionable. The masters, who in many cases were present, frankly recognised the new-born liberty of their former dependents, and congratulated them on the boon they had received, while both expressed their desires that all past differences and wrongs might be forgiven. Harmony and cheerfulness smiled on every countenance, and the demon of discord for a season disappeared. On some of the properties where these commemorative festivals were held, the people, with a few individual exceptions, went to work on the *following day*, while many of them presented their first week of free labour as an offering of good will to their masters.

Thus, the period from which the worst consequences were apprehended, passed away in peace, in harmony, and in safety. Not a *single instance* of violence or insubordination, of serious disagreement or of intemperance, so far as could be ascertained, occurred in any part of the island.

Nor was there any interruption, on the part of the labourers, to the ordinary cultivation or business. Commended for their past behaviour, encouraged and urged by ministers of all denominations to continue to exemplify their fitness for the boon they had received, as well as to facilitate the progress of emancipation in America, in the islands that surrounded them, and throughout the world, by a continuation of industrial habits for reasonable wages, the greater part appeared on the different properties on the Monday of the following week. Most of the estates, from the *increased* labour that had been expended on them previously, and which had been obtained at a high price from the apprentice in his own time to the neglect of his own

provision-grounds, were not in immediate need of labourers; and thus, to the astonishment of the newly-made freemen, their offers of service were in some cases rejected, and they themselves treated with indifference or *hauteur*. It soon became evident that a general determination had been formed to take advantage of the feelings and dispositions thus displayed, and render them available to an uncontrollable lust of avarice and power. In a word, freedom was sought to be made more abundantly compensative than slavery; and now was the time to make the attempt. For this purpose the most oppressive and impolitic expedients were adopted. In many cases the domestic stock of the peasantry, their provision-grounds, and even their houses, were destroyed. In others, and which was general, demands were made for rent of houses and grounds from every inmate of a family, and to an extent which more than equalled in a given time the amount of wages received by them conjointly—exactions which would have produced a larger revenue to the proprietor than the agricultural products of his estate. These and similar acts of oppression were justly but temperately resisted. Bickerings and heartburnings were the result. The planters persisted in their designs; and at length multitudes of the labourers were compelled to sacrifice their feelings of attachment to their domiciles, and to establish themselves in their own freeholds. Hence, and from no *other cause*, arose those reports of insolence and idleness which were so widely and perseveringly circulated against the peasantry. It is delightful to add that the injustice and impolicy of such conduct have now become generally manifest; so that the causes of mutual dissatisfaction are now to a considerable degree extinct. There are, however, some laws, as already noticed, which press unfairly on the great mass of the people; but it is hoped that, from motives of good policy as well as from good feeling, they will be speedily annulled. In other respects, equal right and liberty are enjoyed; and, with these privileges, peace, prosperity, and happiness.

"Great was the boon, my country, when you gave
To man his birthright, freedom to the slave,
Rights to the wronged, and to the glorious rolls
Of British citizens a million souls—
Their growing minds from slavery's sink to lift,
And make them worthy of the God-like gift."

CHAPTER XII.

INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER OF THE BLACK PEOPLE UNDER SLAVERY.

Ignorance of Arts and Sciences—Of Reading, Arithmetic, Mechanical Arts, Civil Polity—Alleged Deficiency of Mental Capacity—Establishment and Operation of Schools—The Negro under Cultivation and Freedom—Notions of his Natural Inferiority disproved—Proposal for the establishment of a College—The great importance and advantages of such an Institution—Decline of Schools—Appeal for these objects to the British Public.

THE best informed among the slaves imported into Jamaica were the Mandingoes, and those of neighbouring nations from the banks of the Senegal. Some of these, especially the chiefs and princes of the tribes, displayed some acquaintance with Arabic, but their knowledge of the language generally was very superficial. Very few had any idea of the art of computation by figures, nor did the great bulk of them display any acquaintance with the simplest form of lettered knowledge. According to a tradition current among them, they were under an impression that they were prohibited the knowledge of letters by a decree of the Almighty—a tradition which it is probable originated with their oppressors for purposes by no means difficult to imagine.

They believed that at the creation of the world there was both a *white* and a *black* progenitor, and that the black was originally the favourite. To try their dispositions, the Almighty let down two boxes from Heaven, of unequal dimensions, of which the black man had the preference of choice. Influenced by his propensity to greediness, he chose the largest, and the smaller one consequently fell to the share of the white. "Buckra box," the black people are represented as saying, "was full up wid pen, paper, and whip, and negers, wid hoe and bill, and hoe and bill for neger to dis day."

Previous to the year 1823 there were not more than one or two schools in the whole island expressly for the instruction of the black population. Hence they were generally ignorant of the art of reading; while their improvement was universally opposed by the planters as inimical to the future peace and prosperity of the island.

It is generally admitted that they were not deficient in taste or ability for music,

but their songs, which were usually impromptu, were destitute of poetry or poetic images. On estates, or in particular districts, there were usually found one or more males or females, who, resembling the improvisatori or extempore bards of Italy and ancient Britain, composed lines and sung them on their festive occasions. These ballads had usually a ludicrous reference to the white people, and were generally suggested by some recent occurrence.* They were alike ignorant of any method for computing the periods of time. The only means by which any of them ascertained, with any degree of certainty, the date of particular events, was by a kind of artificial memory, such as a recurrence to remarkable seasons of the year, to earthquakes, and hurricanes. Some of them calculated by the revolutions of the moon, their Christmas carnivals, or the arrivals and departures of Governors. Hence but few could fix any event nearer than twelve months from the period of its occurrence; and scarcely any of them were acquainted with their own age, the age of their children, or that of their domestic animals. With the exception of the Aradas, and one or two other tribes from the Gold Coast, they were almost wholly unacquainted with the mechanical arts and manufactures, while of civil polity or the use of civil institutions they were equally ignorant. Instances, indeed, were common in which interruptions of social peace and petty misdemeanors arising among themselves were decided by the head men on the property, or in the neighbourhood where they occurred; but their decisions were for the most part arbitrary, selfish, and vindictive, being usually given either under the influence of bribery, favour, or intemperance. For this latter purpose, intoxicating drinks were frequently supplied to them before they pro-

* "Sangaree kill de captain,
O dear, he must die!
New rum kill de sailor,
O dear, he must die;
Hard work kill de neger,
O dear, he must die.
La, la, la, la," &c.

The following is frequently sung in the streets:

"One, two, tree,
All de same;
Black, white, brown,
All de same,
All de same.
One, two, tree," &c.

ceeded to adjudicate from a superstitious notion that intoxication was absolutely essential to a proper understanding and disposal of the case. Enthralled and bowed down by a system that reduced them to the level of the brute, and at the same time carefully excluded by their superiors from every means of improvement, they were altogether destitute of taste and genius. Unallured by the enjoyments of civilized society and by whatever is sublime and beautiful in natural scenery;—the dwarfs of the rational world, their intellect rising only to a confused notion and imperfect idea of the general objects of human knowledge;—their whole thoughts, indeed, confined within the range of their daily employments and the wants of savage life. By some writers they have been described as an inferior species of the human family, incapable of advancing beyond a certain point in the acquisition of knowledge—the connecting link between the animal and intellectual economies, affiliated to the ourang-outang, and, like that animal, actuated not by reason but by instinct. Hence they were said to be unable to combine ideas, to compare, to argue, to judge, or to do any thing comparable with the performances of perfect men. In pursuance of the infamous theory which sought their affinity with the monsters of the woods, they are represented by a Jamaica historian and planter,* unable to place a table square in a room from a defect of vision similar to that of an ourang-outang. “I have known them fail in this,” says he, “after numberless endeavours, and it is the same in other things, so that such as are bred carpenters and bricklayers are often unable, after many tedious and repeated trials with the rule and plumb-line, to do a piece of work straight which an apprentice boy in England would perform with one glance of his eye.” Hume, in his observations on the native African, says, “They are inferior to the rest of the species, and utterly incapable of the higher attainments of the mind.”

Montesquieu pronounced them not human beings, but as occupying an intermediate rank below the whites, and destined by their Creator to be the slaves of their superiors. An attempt has been made to trace the affiliation of some of the tribes,

particularly the Angolahs, the Whydahs, and the inhabitants of Benguela, with the ourang-outang, and a conclusion has been drawn to the advantage of the latter in the supposition of their possessing the same means of improvement. Such was the state, and such the opinions entertained of these poor degraded beings by their lordly task-masters, as well as by the disciples of a proud and false philosophy, and hence the brutal treatment to which they were doomed and the degrading epithets by which they were designated. It now remains to exhibit the contrast between their past and present intellectual condition, and thus assert for them that rank in the scale of being which they are destined by nature and Providence to attain.

It has been stated that but few instances have occurred in which the negroes imported into Jamaica displayed any acquaintance with the arts and sciences. Nor, owing to a want of the necessary opportunities, are many to be found at the present day who possess any thing like an acquaintance with these branches of knowledge. It is otherwise, however, with regard to elementary education. Such has been the progress of school instruction, within the last few years especially, that thousands of adults are now enjoying its advantages.

By the published reports of 1841, there were belonging to different denominations of Christians throughout the island, as nearly as it could be ascertained from the imperfect data supplied, about 186 day-schools, 100 Sabbath-schools, and 20 or 30 evening-schools; the latter chiefly for the instruction of adults.

Of the day-schools, 48 are said to have been connected with the National Church, 22 with the Mico Charity, 25 with the Wesleyan, 61 with the Baptist, 14 with the Church, and 16 with the London Missionary Societies, independently of those belonging to the Moravians and Presbyterians, the statistics of which the writer has not been able to procure. These altogether are reported to contain about 62,240 scholars; but, deducting for irregularity of attendance, for Sabbath-scholars included in the lists of day-schools, for the number of schools formerly connected with the National Church and Mico Charity which have been since closed, the present number is estimated at about 30,000.

* Long.

As an evidence of the proficiency that is being made by these children of Ethiopia in the various branches of learning taught in these institutions, it is only necessary to introduce one or two extracts from reports which have been published on the spot by disinterested individuals, who have attended examinations of the scholars. The extracts will refer to the Metropolitan schools in Spanish Town,* established in 1825, as their operations are personally known to the writer, but they may be adduced as specimens of all the well-regulated schools on the island. Says a gentleman in 1830, but five years after their establishment, "I witnessed the examination of the children in the lower classes with peculiar pleasure and interest; but the elder children in the upper classes truly filled my mind with wonder and admiration. After reading portions of the Holy Scriptures and the 'History of Greece,' they were very minutely interrogated on those portions, and their answers were so correct that I could scarcely help blushing at my own ignorance. Their facility in arithmetic was surprising—sums in Reduction, Proportion, Practice, Fellowship, and Vulgar Fractions, were worked with such rapidity, that the examiner could scarcely keep pace with them. In the sciences of geography and astronomy the whole school appeared enthusiastic; the whole world, as it were in a moment, was divided into continents, islands, oceans, seas, and lakes: zones, longitude and latitude, the twelve signs of the zodiac, motions of the earth and its distance from the sun, were all described with an expertness and accuracy I could scarcely have believed. Upon the whole, it far surpassed all that I ever saw in England." These, it will be remembered, were children of negroes, or their immediate descendants, very few of whom five years before had seen a book, and who in their habits and manners differed but little from those in a state of savage nature.

Similar testimony was borne by the Honourable Alexander Bravo, a large proprietor, who presided at an examination of the same schools in 1839.

"The performances of the infant class were indeed astonishing. In spelling, read-

ing, writing, recitation, grammar, and natural philosophy, in which some mere children had actually made proficiency, marks of improvement were exhibited in every class; the same in arithmetic. The children were many of them very proficient in geography and the use of the globes, but I must not restrain the expressions of my admiration as well as surprise at the exhibition of the boys in geometry. Their demonstrations were well examined and found perfectly correct; and I will not withhold the pleasing and amusing fact, that one of the scholars had shown his own ingenuity, as well as the practical utility of the science, in the construction, from wood, of a most ingenious pair of compasses, which had been imitated and perceptibly improved upon by the other scholars of the class." To these testimonies the writer cannot forbear adding that of another impartial witness, who was present at the examination of the same schools in 1842, and who signs himself "A Stranger in Jamaica." At this meeting the Honourable Judge Bernard presided, and Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, one of the directors of the African Civilization Society, with many other gentlemen of respectability, attended as deeply interested spectators. This testimony is the more important, as the most successful competitors on the occasion were two black boys, one the son of an African in the army, and the other the son of a recently emancipated slave.* After referring with great satisfaction to the progress of the younger classes, he continues:—"The elder classes also read in Scripture with great satisfaction to the visitors. They were then examined in ciphering, which task they performed correctly, as the solutions to their questions, were exhibited to the visitors to avoid even the shadow of a fallacy. Some of the older boys answered geometrical questions with great precision, showing that they must have understood the subject well. I was equally amused with the elocutive part of the examination. Some of the children had committed long pieces to memory for recitation. The visitors expressed their admiration of the exhibitions by continued demonstrations of applause." In addition to these acquisitions they possessed also a

* These schools, during eleven years, have been supported chiefly by the London Central Negro's Friend Society.

* Alexander Fuller, now gone as a missionary to Africa.

considerable knowledge of civil and sacred geography, of biblical antiquities, and of the emblems, figures, parables, types, and most remarkable passages and chapters of the Bible. There was scarcely one who, besides his other acquisitions, was not able to recite chapters of the Bible and hymns from memory. On a former occasion one little boy repeated two hundred and thirty-eight hymns and three chapters, comprising sixty-six verses, almost without mistake or hesitation. A little girl recited, with equal facility and correctness, forty-nine hymns and eight chapters of the Bible, the chapters containing two hundred and forty verses. The two boys, to whom allusion has been made, and who attracted the particular notice of Sir Joseph Laffan, exhibited specimens of beautiful penmanship and maps of their own construction.

A similar testimony to the astonishing proficiency of many of the negro children in the various branches of useful knowledge, has been borne by their excellencies Sir Lionel Smith and Sir Charles Metcalfe, who have honoured the schools with their presence at the annual examination of the scholars.

The two school-mistresses and the master, superintendents of the different departments of these schools, were once *slaves*, and acquired all the knowledge they possessed in the institution over which they now so ably preside. By the operations of the normal schools, of which there are several, a considerable number of native young men and women have been qualified for the important situation of teachers, and in most cases are conducting the schools under their charge as efficiently as masters and mistresses from Europe.

In addition to what has been said of the proficiency of the negroes in the various branches of scholastic knowledge, their attainments in music and psalmody must not be omitted. Most of them are possessed of fine voices, and are by no means deficient in taste. The singing at many places of religious worship, where the choir is composed almost entirely of blacks and their descendants, is but very little inferior to that at places of worship in England; and, were the same advantages enjoyed by the one class as by the other, not the slightest difference would be discernible. Hundreds of them are self-taught proficient in the use of the various European

instruments of music. Many can play beautifully on the violin, the clarionet, and the flute, without a knowledge of notes; and when regularly instructed in the science are by no means inferior in skill and execution to the whites. The band of the 2nd West Indian Regiment, now in Spanish Town, is composed almost entirely of liberated or recaptured Africans from Spanish and Portuguese slave-ships, and their performances will bear a comparison with those of any other regimental band in her Majesty's service.

Any imputation of ignorance of the mechanic arts and manufactures now cast upon the black population of Jamaica would only excite the ridicule or contempt of those who are personally acquainted with them. There are now to be found amongst the black population throughout the country, comprehending individuals of each tribe, operatives, mechanics, and masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, sailors, pilots; and it may be added, from their knowledge of the properties of medicinal herbs, and their skill in applying them to different disorders, veterinary surgeons and medical men; whilst in the towns are also shoemakers, cabinetmakers, carvers and gilders, watchmakers, jewellers, &c. &c., who manifest as much skill, and perform their work with as much accuracy and taste, as workmen of the same description in England. Most of the houses and public buildings—churches, chapels, court-houses—were built chiefly by slaves; and to the slaves equally with the free blacks and people of colour have the white inhabitants been indebted, not only for their common works of art, but for nearly every article of local manufacture.

So far from being now ignorant of civil polity and of the use of civil institutions, it is questionable whether any people in the world, placed in the same circumstances, possesses an equally correct acquaintance with these subjects; whilst the superior style of cottage architecture every where apparent since freedom (when such cottages became their own), their furniture, and the gardens that surround them, are sufficient refutations of the charge of deficiency of taste for the useful and ornamental. Not less unfounded is the imputation that they are deficient in inventive and imitative genius. Even among the most untutored of the African race these

qualities have been sometimes displayed in a degree truly astonishing. They have been manifested not only in the construction and manufacture of articles of domestic use, but also (and that without any previous instruction) in the higher branches of mechanics. Their locks and bolts, together with other contrivances for security and convenience, are a sufficient evidence of the truth of this assertion; to which may be added, their contrivances for cooking, manufacturing sugar of their own production, as well as various other things of domestic utility.

The faculties of wit and imitation in the negro race are also remarkable. Scarcely any foible or peculiarity of gesture or accent is discoverable, in a stranger especially, but it is mimicked to the life, often to the no small amusement of groups of spectators. Instances have frequently occurred in which white men have seen themselves exhibited as subjects of amusement to the whole fraternity of a negro village, and an instance is recorded in which it afforded a salutary lesson to the object of ridicule. It was in the case of a drunken planter. Hearing on a certain occasion the sound of considerable merriment in the direction of his negro settlement, curiosity induced him secretly to ascertain the cause, when he beheld a negro personifying his own gestures and habits when in a state of intoxication, amidst the convulsive laughter of the multitudes of men, women, and children gathered around him. The whole scene had such an effect upon him that he never again indulged in similar excesses. Their imitative faculty is equally displayed in the acquisition of trades and arts. Thousands of them are not at all inferior to many of the whites, either in sound sense or general information. In a word, the black skin and the woolly hair constitute the only difference which now exists between multitudes of the emancipated peasantry of Jamaica and the tradesmen and agriculturists of England.

Nor are the intellectual faculties of this calumniated and oppressed people in any respect inferior to the rest of the species; they have simply been suspended from inaction, and the absence of those influences which were necessary to their development. Many of their common adages are as much distinguished by shrewdness and sagacity as the maxims and proverbs of more civil-

ized nations. To convey an impression of covetousness, with reference to any individual, they say, "Him covetous, like star-apple," because that fruit is distinguished for its tenacity of adhesion to the tree. When they wish to represent duplicity, they say "Him hab two faces, like star-apple leaf," the leaf of the star-apple tree being of two colours, a bright green above and a buff below. To convey the impression of wisdom, forethought, and peaceableness of disposition, they say, "Softly water run deep." "When man dead grass grow at him door," expressive of the forgetfulness and disregard by which death is succeeded. "Poor man never vex," denoting the humility which is usually the accompaniment of poverty.

Mr. Edwards mentions an instance of shrewdness and sagacity on the part of a negro servant which is not often surpassed. Exhausted by a long journey he had fallen asleep. On being awoke, and told somewhat sharply that his master was angry because "him da call, call, and him keep on sleep, and no heary," he facetiously replied, "Sleep no heb massa."

"Wilberforce," said a negro on one occasion, in the midst of a group of his companions—"Wilberforce—dat good name for true; him good buckra; him want fo make we free; and if him can't get we free no oder way him *will by force*."*

During an examination of a black servant in the Catechism, he was asked by the clergyman what he was made of? "Of mud, massa," was the reply. On being told he should say "Of dust," he answered, "No, massa, it no do, no tick togedder."

A negro, when in a state of heathenism, contracted a debt to a considerable amount. Being frequently importuned for payment, he resolved to be christened, and afterwards, on application being made, replied, with considerable *naïveté*, "Me is new man now; befo me name Quashie, now me Thomas, derefo Thomas no pay Quashie debt."

A gentleman is reported to have said to a Christian negro, "What do you think of

* A negro, having purchased a hat, was observed to take it from his head on the fall of a shower of rain, and to manifest considerable anxiety to preserve it from the wet. On being remonstrated with for his supposed stupidity in thus leaving his head exposed, he wittily observed—"Hat belong to *me*, head belong to *Massa*."

the doctrine of election?" He made no reply, but instantly brought five pieces of wood. These he placed on the table, and then taking two of the five, leaving the other three, he said, "There, massa, dat what we mean by election."

The following anecdote in illustration can scarcely be withheld. It was related to the author by the son of the principal party, as an evidence of the ingratitude and ferocity of the negro character. A white man had often beaten one of his slaves very unmercifully for the most trifling offences; the latter, after a punishment unusually severe, preferred a complaint against him before a bench of magistrates, which had the effect of securing a reprimand by them to the master. Highly provoked with the presumption of the slave for thus daring to expose him in open court, the master meditated the most determined revenge. Some time after, sending the slave into a summer-house situated in a secluded spot in his garden, he resolved to wreak upon him the vengeance he had meditated. Instantly seizing a large stick, he entered the house, and securing the door, vociferated, "Now, villain, I'll teach you to take me before the magistrates. You try to injure my character, do you—I'll make you pay dear for it, I'll warrant you. Nobody can see me here, and you'll have no witness now," at the same time beginning to beat him unmercifully. The slave, being a powerful man, on hearing the latter sentence, immediately seized the weapon, and wresting it from the master's hand, retaliated on him, saying, "If me no hab witness to prosecute massa, massa no heb witness fo prosecute me," and continued the flagellation until the assailant was obliged to cry for mercy, which was shown him by the victorious Quashy, on condition of a solemn pledge by the master that he would never notice the circumstance to his disadvantage—a promise which, from selfish motives, he was induced to preserve inviolate.

The lowest and most unintelligent of the tribes are the Mungolas. Their stupidity, however, has often been more feigned than real; thus, when attracting the gaze of multitudes at their annual carnivals by their grotesque appearance and ridiculous gambols, they have been often known to indulge in the keenest satire and merriment at their own expense, repeating in chorus,

"Buckra tink Mungola nigger fool make him tan so." So far from being more deficient in acuteness and discrimination than other men, none can penetrate more deeply than the negro into character, or form an opinion of strangers with greater correctness and precision. The idea of their inability, even in their most untutored state, to combine ideas and pursue a chain of reasoning is equally erroneous, as is evident from the following defence, said to have been made before a bench of justices in one of the country parishes by certain negroes who had run away from their work. The judges on the occasion were two medical men. The complaint having been preferred, the defendants were severally called upon to state their case. The object of the first was to render the character of the accuser odious, to conciliate the feelings of the Court to himself, by drawing a contrast between the cruelty of the overseer and the clemency of the judge, as well as to excite sympathy by a narration of his sufferings.

The second illustrates the hardships of his case, by instituting a comparison between his own lot and that of a woodpecker, and urges, that having been born as free as that bird, the overseer had no more claim to his services than he had to those of the woodpecker. He draws a comparison between the condition of the two, to the advantage of the latter, and ridicules the idea that he was neither to build his own house nor to have any shelter before going to work for the overseer, concluding his defence by a recital of the punishment inflicted on him.

A third had been charged with inattention to poultry committed to her care, owing to which many of them had died. She was required by the overseer to pay for them, and in default of it was to be punished. Indisposed, or unable to pay, and dreading the threatened punishment, she had absconded. It will be observed that she attempts to conciliate the chief magistrate, by flattering him with her opinion of his medical skill; proves his inability to counteract the designs of Omnipotence, with regard to the death of any of his patients; appeals to him, if under such circumstances he would be justly charged with a want of attention, or required to pay any penalty for the loss of his patients, and hence infers the injustice

of the demand made upon her under similar circumstances.

The defence of the two latter only will be given, and that briefly and in their own dialect.

"Massa," said the first of them, addressing the senior judge, "me bin no heb no house, and when me bin cut one bread-nut tree me see how one woodpecker bin build him house in the tree, and me tink say, poor me boy! The woodpecker is better off than me, him hab plenty time for build him house and mind him pickinniny, and when woodpecker da sleep in the mornin, him no fraid of bad busha for flog him because him no turn out before day to do buckra work, and me tink it was berry hard me for live worse than woodpecker, and busha say me lazy, and him will build house for me, and me tell him say, him must look at woodpecker house, so say if busha bin built it, and me ax him why him no make woodpecker cut bread-nuts, and dig cane-holes, so busha flog me till me most dead. Posin you yourself handsome somebody like you, blong to him, him would flog you till you most dead too."

"Massa," said the other, "me bin fowl-house woman, and the truckies (turkeys) dead na me handeberry day, so busha say me must pay for dem. Now, massa doctor, you is cleber person to cure sick somebody, and if dem *can* cure, you will cure dem, but if dem time come for dead, dem must dead, for though massa doctor berry cleber, him can't do more dan God. Same fashion, massa, if da trucky time for dead come, dem must dead. Now, massa doctor, pose neger sick in the hot-house, and dem time for dead come, and God make dem dead, it no would be berry hard you for pay cause dem dead? So it berry hard me for pay for de trucky dead, and busha say him will flog me, so me run away."

By such an array of incontrovertible facts, the natural inferiority of the negro in mental capacity and his consequent unsusceptibility of the advantages of culture and instruction are proved to be utterly fallacious. But additional evidence may be afforded as the result of repeated and impartial experiments. In schools, of which the writer has for many years had the direction, both white, coloured, and black children have begun the alphabet and advanced together in the same school for

years, their advantages in every respect being equal; and whether it has been owing, on the part of the white pupil, to parental indulgence, or to the influence of climate, or, on the part of the black, to the absence of these causes, or to a more implicit dependence on their own resources, in almost every instance the black and brown children have made the greatest proficiency, and have appeared to the best advantage at public examinations.

One little boy, the son of a Mungola and a Papaw, two of the tribes described by an historian* as almost

"The lag of human kind
Nearest to brute of God designed,"

but whose appearance, according to the theories of phrenologists, presented some of the finest indications of mental capacity, could read the New Testament at the age of four years and a half, and answer any ordinary question from it that might be proposed; at the same time giving indications of powers of memory truly surprising. At the age of six years, continuing to improve in the same degree, he had made considerable proficiency in writing and arithmetic, and given proofs of a rich and rapidly-expanding intellect, which, at such an age, have seldom been surpassed in children of a fairer skin. Nor is this a mere isolated case, but one out of many that might be selected, as the result of nearly twenty years' experience and observation, both in town and country districts. The writer is fully persuaded that our coloured and black fellow-creatures are equally as capable of being conducted through every stage of mental discipline and taught to arrive at as great a height of social and intellectual improvement as has ever been attained by the most privileged Europeans.

The equality of the African race in mental endowments with other nations was abundantly evidenced in former ages; nor, where the like advantages have been enjoyed, are we without similar examples in our own. Among African divines are the names of Clemens, Cyprian, Augustine, and Tertullian; Terence among her poets; Hannibal and Asdrubal in the list of her heroes. Africa is said to have been the parent of the arts and of civilization; to

* Long.

have given to Spain the first principles of refinement and philosophy; and even to Greece and Rome their earliest rudiments of learning and abstract science. "She exhibited the first approach to alphabetical writing by hieroglyphic emblems; the first great works in sculpture, painting, and architecture; and travellers even now find Egypt and Carthage covered with magnificent monuments, erected at an era when the faintest dawn of science had not yet illuminated the regions of Europe,"—

"If glorious structures and immortal deeds
Enlarge the heart and set our souls on fire,
My tongue has been too cold in Egypt's praise—
Queen of the nations, and the boast of times,
Mother of science, and the house of gods;
Scarce can I open wide my lab'ring mind
To comprehend the vast idea big with arts and
arms,
So boundless is its fame."*

Among the distinguished Africans of later times are Friedg, of Vienna, an eminent architect and musician; Hannibal, a colonel in the Russian service, celebrated for his mathematical and scientific attainments; Lislet, of the Isle of France, a member of the French Academy; Arno, a doctor of divinity in the university at Wirtemberg; Ignatius Sancho, of our own country; and Francis Williams of Spanish Town, Jamaica; the latter of whom was sent to a grammar school in England by the Duke of Montague, afterwards to Cambridge, and was a good politician, mathematician, and poet. His Latin poem addressed to General Haldane on his assumption of the government of Jamaica was regarded as one of the first productions of the age. There are also the names of Toussaint, Pétion, and others in Hayti; Payanga in South America, with a list too numerous to recount.

In Jamaica at the present time there are many of the descendants of Africa, of whose names delicacy forbids the mention, but who, amidst all the disadvantages with which they have had to struggle, do not suffer by a comparison with the most talented and accomplished Europeans, and who, had they been placed in more favoured circumstances, would have shone among the most distinguished men of any age or country. The sons of Ethiopia have been too long despised by the proud descend-

ants of a more favoured fortune. All classes have agreed together to point at them the finger of scorn, and to hurl towards them the missiles of reproach. The man of science has been too ready to unite with the more flippant accuser; learning and eloquence have descended from their elevation to assist in the mean assault; rank and station have joined in the inglorious crusade; half the civilized world, smitten with the demon of cupidity, had embarked with a loathsome zeal in the unnatural strife. But other times are gradually opening, and the great drama of African fortunes is imperceptibly shifting. Though her ancient glory lies shrouded behind the cloud of dim mysterious antiquity, another era is about to dawn upon her race, and a brighter and more steady radiance than that which she has lost to settle upon her history. With the testimony of distant ages, and the evidence afforded by passing events, it will be difficult for any, except they be men possessed of unblushing impudence, to persevere in the ungenerous calumnies repudiated and condemned.

Proofs of the claims of the great coloured family to intellect and social equality with those of a more favoured skin, will be accumulating with ever-augmenting rapidity amidst the new influences of these passing times. The most sceptical will be compelled to yield to the attestation of daily multiplying facts, and the most prejudiced to abandon for very shame their vicious predilections and opinions. The oppressed offspring of Ham will rise at the life-giving call of Christianity, and meekly array themselves in beauty and in power. Acquiring a taste for knowledge and a love for virtue, they will receive into their midst the germ of all vitality and the secret of all strength, and the period is not, it is fondly hoped, so remote but that some promise of it already illumines the horizon. When gently led forward by the humane of every nation they shall, under the *egis* of an overshadowing Providence, run a career of honourable progression in all that adorns and elevates the species, with the boasting inhabitants of some privileged climes.

To realize these anticipations nothing is required but the introduction of a liberal and enlarged scheme of sound education among the more respectable classes of the coloured and black population. These ad-

* The identity of the negroes with the ancient Egyptians has been disputed, but in the opinion of the writer with no sufficient reason.

vantages, now the exclusive inheritance of their brethren of a fairer skin, must be extended to them, and seminaries of learning and of science be raised and consecrated to their use.

It is time that intelligent and aspiring youth, who are distinguished from others only by their outward hue, had the means of assembling in halls of their own, safe from the taunts of folly and of pride. The establishment of a COLLEGE in JAMAICA, after the model of UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in London, by no means an insuperable task, would be of incalculable advantage to the descendants of Africa in the western islands,* and do more than all else to expose to the ridicule it deserves the senseless distinction which it is the study of so many to perpetuate and extend. There are thousands in England who would rejoice to aid in so glorious an effort to elevate the coloured and black population in the scale of learning, and to raise them to their just and proper position among the nations of the earth, while the faintest prospect of so important a step in the path of improvement inspires the breast of the writer with delight. To this desirable object he begs to awaken the attention of gentlemen of colour abroad, and of high and honourable minds at home.†

It would be the most glorious compensation the British public could award the descendants of Africa in Jamaica (for compensation is still their due), were they to erect, as a monument of emancipation, a seminary of learning of this description, which, independently of benefits of a higher kind, would enable our black and coloured brethren to take their proper rank in the republic of letters, and thus not only wipe away the stigma so long fixed upon them by infidel philosophers, but destroy for ever the pretext which is urged for their degradation. Some years since the writer published addresses on this important subject to the middling and higher classes of the colony, accompanied by a prospectus of such an establishment, which excited considerable attention and sympathy.

The object, however, was considered

impracticable, unaided by the Christian public in England. Engaged as that public was in endeavouring to abolish slavery, pecuniary aid from them could scarcely be expected, and the purpose was abandoned. The great struggle with slavery having at length so successfully terminated, and the necessity for such an institution having greatly increased, it is now especially desirable that the plan should be carried into operation. To inform the friends of the African race more particularly of its nature and object, and to stimulate them to aid the establishment of it, particulars are given in the Appendix.

“What,” says the late Dr. Mason Good, alluding to the progress of the arts and sciences in Africa, “produced the difference we now behold? What has kept the Bambareens,* like the Chinese, nearly in a stationary state for, perhaps, upwards of two thousand years, and has enabled the rude and painted Britons to become the first people in the world, the most renowned for arts and for arms, for the best virtues of the heart, and the best faculties of the understanding? Not a difference in the colour of the skin; but, first, the peculiar favour of the Almighty; next, a political constitution which was sighed for, and in some degree prefigured, by Plato and Tully, but regarded as a master-piece beyond the power of human accomplishment; and, lastly, a fond and fostering cultivation of science in every ramification and department.”†

Numerous as are the common schools in Jamaica, and efficient as they have been in accomplishing the objects for which they have been established, it cannot be forgotten that a vast amount of ignorance yet remains. It is estimated that full one-half of the population are yet without the means of instruction: a reflection which becomes the more painful from the circumstance that during the last two years, school operations, instead of increasing, have diminished throughout the island from want of funds.‡

* The importance of such an institution to the civilization of Africa also would be incalculable.

† It is a pleasing fact that a native of St. Domingo lately obtained the highest honours at the University of Paris, and that a negro is now a student in one of the Colleges at Cambridge.

* “The kingdom of Bambarra, of which Timbuctoo is the capital, it is supposed, was as completely established and flourished in Cæsar’s time as at the present moment.”

† Jamaica Almanac.

‡ The subjoined official document, which it will sustain the representation here made of the late decrease in the number of schools, will, at the same time, show the progressive advancement of education,

The greatest calamity at this crisis of the history of Freedom, next to that of the diminution of the public means and ordinances of religion, would be the decrease of school instruction; and the present chapter cannot be concluded without presenting an earnest appeal to the Christian public to continue and increase their efforts, both for the support and extension of these institutions, until, freed from the difficulties attendant on the establishment of new settlements, added to a better appreciation of the advantages of education, parents will be able and willing to support them, independently of foreign aid.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

Negro Villages in Time of Slavery—Houses—Dress of Slaves—Personal and Domestic Habits—Licentiousness—Polygamy—Marriage—Treatment of Females—Indolence—Improvement in all these Respects—Opening of a New Township under Freedom—Number of new Settlements established—Growing Comfort and Prosperity of the Country—Evidences of these results.

THE negro villages were, in general, situated amongst groves of fruit-trees, presenting to the eye at a distance, especially in the full blaze of the sun, an appearance very far from forbidding; but on a nearer approach they were unsightly, and, owing to the offensive effluvia arising from quantities of decayed vegetable matter, far from healthy. The houses were thrown together without any pretence to order or arrangement; and, with a few exceptions, were wretched habitations. They consisted of posts put into the ground at the distance of about two feet asunder; the intermediate space being closed up with wattle, daubed over on the inside with mud. In some instances they were divided into two or three apartments, but thousands consisted of one room only. This served the whole of the family for all domestic uses.

and its occasional interruptions, from the year 1800 nearly to the present time:—

"In 1800, the children taught in all the schools in Kingston, including Woolmer's, which was then the only public school, amounted to 315. They increased gradually, but slowly, till 1831, when the numbers were 4088. In 1832 they decreased to 3738. In 1836 they amounted to 7707; in 1837 to 8753; and in 1842 the numbers decreased, as already stated, to 6525."—Morning Journal, Feb. 9, 1843.

At night all huddled promiscuously round a fire kindled in its centre; and with scarcely any other covering than their scanty and well-worn daily apparel, they sought the refreshment and repose necessary for a renewal of their daily toil. A few wooden bowls or calabashes, a water-jar, a wooden mortar for pounding their Indian corn, and an iron pot for boiling the farrago of vegetable ingredients which composed their daily meal, comprised almost all their furniture. The beds used by the more decent and civilized were wooden frames, with a mat of rough material, raised about a foot from the earthen floor, and their covering a blanket. A few cottages might exhibit a somewhat nearer approach to the customs of civilized society; but these were exceptions to the general rule. Each house was surrounded by a piece of garden-ground, and the village, in general, was intersected by narrow, straggling, and dirty lanes.

The dress of the males consisted principally of a coarse cap or hat, and a pair of Osnaburgh trousers, or a shirt of the same material; that of the females of a handkerchief tied in a turban-like manner round the head, an Osnaburgh under-garment, and a coarse blue baize petticoat. Shoes or stockings constituted no part of their apparel, except on very particular occasions.

So little did they respect the decencies of life, and so little were these observed towards them by their superiors, that boys and girls of seven or eight years of age were accustomed to work together, or to roam at large, entirely destitute of covering. In this state it was not uncommon for them to be employed as domestic servants. Nor was it unusual for both sexes at thirteen years of age, and in stature almost men and women, to wait at table, at parties composed of white ladies and gentlemen, with no other covering than a long shirt, or a loose habit of a similar description.

Multitudes were exceedingly filthy in their persons. Some were particular in their diet, and scrupulously clean in the process of its preparation; but with others cane-rats, cats, putrid fish, and even reptiles and animals in a state of decomposition, were their common food.*

* Rats were a common article of commerce in the public markets.

The sanctities of marriage were almost unknown; there was no such thing, indeed, as legitimate marriages among the slaves. This sacred institute was ridiculed by the negroes, and regarded as inimical to their happiness. Under such circumstances the state of society can be easily conceived. Licentiousness the most degraded and unrestrained was the order of the day. Every estate on the island—every negro hut was a common brothel: every female a prostitute, and every man a libertine. Many aged individuals have frequently assured the writer that among the female slaves there were none who had not sacrificed all pretensions to virtue before they had attained their fourteenth year; whilst hundreds were known to have become mothers before they had even entered upon their teens. Polygamy was also common. So far as an agreement between themselves was concerned, they may be said to have formed a matrimonial alliance; but their affection was liable to frequent interruptions, and divorces were consequently of common occurrence; whilst the manner in which the ceremony attending the latter was performed, was not a little singular, and far from insignificant. On such occasions they usually took a cotta, a circular pad formed of the plantain-leaf, and dividing it, each of the party took half. Regarding the circle as a symbol of Eternity, and the ring of perpetual love and fidelity, it was a ceremony that certainly did not inaptly express their eternal disunion. Like the inhabitants of all uncivilized nations, the men treated the women as inferior in the scale of being to themselves, exercising over those who composed their respective harems a kind of petty sovereignty. The women usually cooked the food of their acknowledged lords, waited upon them with all the obsequiousness of devoted servants, and assisted them in the cultivation of their grounds, and the sale of their produce. Sometimes this assumed superiority degenerated into the most vexatious tyranny; the consequences of which were often terrible in the display of furious and vindictive passions, which not unfrequently led to a dissolution of the whole relative connexion. Their social condition was therefore deplorable. Unameliorated by any firm domestic ties, their homes, if such they could be called, were embittered by all the dark passions of the fallen heart—

by “hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, envying, revelling, and such like.”

The indolence of the negro race has ever been proverbial: hence the necessity, as their enemies have argued, of the frequent application of the whip, and various other modes of legalized torture, as a stimulus to labour. “I have seen some,” says Mr. Long, “so exquisitely indolent, that they have contracted very bad ulcers on their feet, by suffering multitudes of chigoes to nestle and generate there, rather than give themselves the trouble of picking them out.” The general *idleness* of the people is usually assigned as the cause of most of the punishments inflicted upon them during slavery; and, to a considerable degree, the representation is correct. Let it, however, be remembered that, under the circumstances in which they were then placed, they had not a single stimulus to industry.

From this revolting picture we turn with pleasure to the contrast as exhibited in the progress of the last twenty years. There is not generally so great an improvement in the size, structure, and interior arrangement of the cottages upon *estates* as might have been expected, but in those which form the *new villages* that have been established throughout the island since the abolition of slavery, the difference is striking. Most of these are in all respects equal, and some of them superior, to the tenancies of labourers in the rural districts of England. They vary in size with the number of the family. In general they are from 20 to 30 feet in length, and from 14 to 16 in breadth. They are either neatly thatched, or shingled with pieces of hard wood hewn somewhat in the shape of slates. Some are built of stone or wood; but the generality are an improvement on those on *estates*, being plastered also on the outside, and white-washed. Many are ornamented with a portico in front to screen the sitting-apartment from the sun and rain: while, for the admission of light and air, as well as to add to their appearance, all of them exhibit either shutters or jealousies, painted green, or small glass windows. There is usually a sleeping-apartment at each end, and a sitting-room in the centre. The floors are in most instances terraced, although boarded ones for sleeping-rooms are becoming common. Many of the latter contain good mahogany bedsteads, a wash-hand stand, a looking-glass, and chairs.

The middle apartment is usually furnished with a sideboard, displaying sundry articles of crockery-ware, some decent-looking chairs, and not unfrequently with a few broad sheets of the Tract Society hung round the walls in neat frames of cedar. For cooking food, and other domestic purposes, a little room or two is erected at the back of the cottage, where are also arranged the various conveniences for keeping domestic stock. The villages are laid out in regular order, being divided into lots more or less intersected by roads or streets. The plots are usually in the form of an oblong square. The cottage is situated at an equal distance from each side of the allotment, and at about eight or ten feet, more or less, from the public thoroughfare. The piece of ground in front is, in some instances, cultivated in the style of a European garden: displaying rose-bushes, and other flowering shrubs among the choicer vegetable productions; while the remainder is covered with all the substantial vegetables and fruits of the country, heterogeneously intermixed. In this description there is an especial reference to the settlement at Sligoville*—a view of which is here annexed.

This township was commenced in 1835, anticipative of the necessity that would exist for such establishments in the incipient operations of freedom, both as a refuge for the peasantry, and for the general advantage of the country.

The representation being partially given from memory, may not be so correct in some of its details as could have been desired; but the object for which it is designed is to give a comprehensive view of the township as to its situation, appearance, and character. These remarks equally apply to the representation of Clarkson Town by which it is succeeded.

The following testimony was borne to the former a few months since by a medical gentleman in a private communication to a friend in England:—"I visited Sligoville, and remained there a week. Every allotment of land is now sold, and many of the people are applying in vain for more. This township is in a very prosperous condition. The canes, provisions, and fruit, are equal, if not superior, to any in the

island. Many of the settlers had not a penny when they came; but they worked, and paid for the land by its produce. They have erected comfortable cottages, and are now living in perfect happiness, as far as human happiness can be perfect. They have no anxieties; and are eminently grateful, both to Christians who worked for, and to the God who gave them freedom."

A sketch of Clarkson Town, with the circumstances attending its opening, may serve to convey a still more correct idea of the progress of social improvement throughout the country.

This township is beautifully situated in the centre of a long valley or glade, formed by two ranges of mountains, rearing their summits to the clouds, and nearly meeting at their base. Beheld from a mountain pass immediately in the rear of the settlement, two or three sugar-estates are visible in the distance; and beyond them, by an accommodation of the foreground to avoid obstruction from the trees which are in process of being cleared away, are seen the towns of Kingston and Port Royal; whilst, as an additional element of interest and beauty in the picture, the ports disclose their shipping, and the harbour the small craft, that are perpetually skimming to and fro over its surface, with now and then a merchantman or man-of-war homeward or outward bound.

The settlement is already of considerable extent, and is gradually increasing. The cottages are of comfortable size, containing about three rooms each, and are very substantially built. The township contains at present but three principal streets, one of which, by an angle in its centre, is divided into two, named Victoria and Albert. Along these, leaving a piece of garden-ground in front, the cottages are ranged on either side, at equal distances.

The interesting ceremony of opening the township took place on the 12th day of May, 1842. A considerable number of people were attracted by the occasion; and, as its principal objects were to secure an opportunity of preaching the Gospel and administering advice, accommodation for a large auditory had been provided beneath a cluster of old forest-trees, on the mountain-side, and in a situation which commanded a view of the whole settlement. It was a most romantic spot—the mountains forming an amphitheatre, cover-

* Named in honour of the Marquis Sligo, when Governor of Jamaica.

ed with trees and shrubs of varied foliage and beauty, arresting the clouds as they floated along the sky,

"With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied, and overhead up grew
Insuperable heights of loftiest shade,
Cedar and branching palm,"

whilst their sides, and the extended and lovely valley below, presented in beautiful contrast a garden reclaimed from the wide waste around by the arts of peaceful industry.

In consequence of the reverberation of sound along the narrow defile which the township occupies, a shout of the voice was all that was necessary to attract the company to the place of meeting. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, the words, "Come to prayers," being vociferated two or three times by one of the most robust and active of the villagers, who ascended the summit of a detached hill for the purpose, every individual in the settlement was seen wending his way to this rural sanctuary; the aged and infirm supporting themselves on a staff, and others more vigorous climbing the steep ascent with quick and eager step: all, at the same time, with countenances that betokened the pleasure which such a summons had created.

The pulpit was a rude table, covered with a white cloth, and situated close to the huge trunk of one of the group of trees already mentioned. The hearers were seated almost in semicircles on planks affixed to uprights placed in the ground, beneath the shade of the wide-spread branches, altogether presenting a most novel and interesting spectacle.

The writer commenced the services, and delivered an address containing, as is usual on such occasions, advice on the subject of personal and relative duties, urging on all present the advantages of a conscientious and faithful discharge of them, both as evidences of their piety towards God, and as necessary causes of their temporal prosperity and happiness. The Rev. Thomas Dowson preached an energetic and appropriate discourse, relating, in an especial manner, to the spiritual interests of the hearers. The service was then closed by prayer and praise.

These preliminary engagements being ended, the writer proceeded to the ceremony of naming the town, and accord-

ingly proposed its being called "Clarkson Town," in honour of the celebrated philanthropist of that name, to whose long and untiring efforts on behalf of the African race the great boon of emancipation was mainly to be attributed, detailing some of the difficulties this venerable man had to encounter, and the sacrifices he was called to make, in the prosecution of his arduous work, deducing from the whole his pre-eminent claim to their most grateful remembrance.

This address was received with cordial responses, and the designation, "Clarkson Town," by men, women, and children united, resounded throughout the valley. "The venerable Clarkson, and his associates in the great work of securing liberty to the slave! May they live to hear of still greater triumphs of their philanthropy! May they persevere in their benevolent efforts until slavery and the slave-trade shall perish in every land; and may they be at last crowned with immortal honour and happiness in heaven!" was repeated by the crowd with the greatest enthusiasm, and followed by loud and long-continued cheering.

A statement of the circumstances which led to the establishment of the township, together with the leading incidents which had hitherto marked its history, was then read: an extract from which, designed especially to show the advantages of its locality, is here subjoined.

"Although the settlement is at present small and insignificant, it is probable it may soon become of considerable magnitude and importance, as a plan is conceived of cutting a canal from a little above Kingston harbour to the foot of the mountains near which the town is located—a design which, if executed, will be of almost inconceivable advantage to the estates in the neighbourhood, bring a vast tract of land into cultivation now abandoned in morass, afford facilities for the conveyance of produce from the adjoining parishes, and thereby increase cultivation in them to an extent hitherto unprecedented.

"May this infant township rise under the blessing of Almighty God, and may its inhabitants, to the most distant posterity, united in bonds of Christian love and fellowship, be as one family, with one feeling to prompt and one principle to govern!"

This part of the ceremony concluded, the writer proceeded to name the streets of the town, and arriving at the most convenient part of the principal street, he prefaced the designation by a short address, congratulating the peasantry on their loyalty to their sovereign, in desiring the association of Her Majesty's name and that of her Royal consort (a general case in all the new townships) with their social prosperity and happiness. And on his saying aloud, "I name this street 'Victoria,' in honour of our beloved sovereign, by whose gracious will and pleasure the great boon of freedom was bestowed upon you and your children," all united in loud and successive cheers, followed by singing in chorus two or three verses of the National Anthem. The circumstances attending the naming of the street in honour of Prince Albert were similar, as were also those which accompanied the naming of the remainder, among which was "Gurney Street," in remembrance of Joseph J. Gurney, Esq., who, as described in his 'Winter in the West Indies, in 1841,' visited the settlement, and was delighted both with its appearance, and the manners, intelligence, and hospitality of the people.*

At the conclusion of the business of the day the two ministers who conducted the ceremonies, together with the friends who accompanied them, retired loaded with caresses and followed by benedictions until the interesting spot had vanished from their sight. The writer could not help speculating, as he paced the winding solitary ascent to his home, on the emotions of which the venerable Clarkson and his noble coadjutors in the cause of African liberty would have been the subjects *had they but witnessed the scene*—had they beheld the activity and light-heartedness manifested both by young and old, from the earliest dawn of day. Had they heard their mutual salutations—their hearty cheers and enthusiastic benedictions on the instruments of their deliverance from temporal and spiritual bondage! Had they but seen the evidences of their industry and providence—of their contentment and happiness—these noble-minded men and women would have required no other recompense, they could have desired no higher honour. Nor will their names or

their deeds ever be forgotten—they will descend to succeeding generations embalmed in the grateful recollection of the whole posterity of Ham, when the memorials of the tyrants that oppressed them shall have perished.

The number of similar settlements that have been established since the period of emancipation, and the extent of such freeholds, is almost incredible. It is difficult at present to ascertain the precise number of either, but on a rough calculation the villages can scarcely be estimated at fewer than from 150 to 200, or the number of acres of land purchased at less than 100,000. Equally imperfect must be any general statistics respecting them. As nearly as can be ascertained, the number of heads of families who have purchased land is about 10,000,* and the number of cottages erected about 3000. The amount paid for land thus purchased is estimated at 70,000£, and the value of the houses 100,000£, thus making the total cost of land purchased by the peasantry in the course of four years, and of cottages erected by them, 170,000£.

The names which these simple-minded villagers attach to their unpretending dwellings, though a trifling incident, is not without interest, as one of the lighter indications of their progress in social taste and improvement. A specimen of these is here given.

Victoria
Comfort Castle

Happy Home
Content

* As a proof that the above calculation is not exaggerated, an extract from a speech delivered, in the House of Commons, March 22, 1842, by Lord Stanley (the present Colonial Secretary), is here inserted:—"The next statement he (Lord Stanley) would read to the House, was by a Stipendiary Magistrate. He said it would appear wonderful how so much had been accomplished in the island, in building, planting, and digging, and making fences, without a cessation of labour on the part of the population. The reason was, that the emancipation from bondage to new hopes, new desires, and new responsibilities, strengthened the exertions of the negro, and enabled him to labour in his own plantation, and to spare time to labour in the plantations of others. And to that statement was attached a most singular document, which showed the number in one parish, not of those who had landed possessions, but of those who had entered their names as being the owners of property liable to taxation, and who had stated their willingness as free men to bear their proportion of the public imposts. In that parish, in 1836, there were 317 names; in 1840, 1321; and in 1841, 1866: and the number of freeholders, who had become freeholders by their accumulations and industry in the island of Jamaica, was in 1838, 2114; and in the space of two years, in 1840, their number had increased to 7340."

* Winter in the West Indies, p. 116.

Pleasant Hill
Happy Wood
Occasion Call*
Envy Not
Albert
Thankful Hill
Good Hope
Happiness
Save Rent
Heart's Love
Adelaide
Happy Hill
Campbell's Delight
Thank God to see it
Happy Retreat
A Little of my Own

Industry
Canaan
Mount Zion
Happy Hut
Free Come
Happy Grove
Content my Own
Jane's Delight
Paradise
Come See
Fisherman's Home
Freedom
Liberty Content
Comfortable Garden
You no come I no got
Pleasant Farm

Among the appellations by which the villages themselves are distinguished are the following :—

Victoria
Vale Lionel
Gurney
Sligoville
Brougham
Adelaide
Macauley
Thompson.

Normanby
Buxton
Albert
Clarkson
Sturge
Wilberforce
Harvey

As an evidence of the improvement

which has taken place, the decencies of society are no longer outraged by insufficient and filthy apparel. Seldom, indeed, is an individual seen, especially on the Sabbath, except in the most becoming attire,—in every respect as good as that worn by persons of the same class during the summer in England. The dress of the women generally consists of a printed or white cotton gown, with a white handkerchief tied in a turban-like manner round their heads, and a neat straw hat trimmed with white ribbon; while some, especially the young women, wear straw bonnets and white muslin dresses. This improvement has extended itself, not simply to the mere article of dress, but also to its condition. It is uniformly distinguished for its cleanliness, whilst the economy with which it is preserved in a climate where, from insects and other causes, it is so liable to destruction, is truly remarkable.



[Female Negro Peasant in her Sunday and Working Dress.]

On occasions when their best garments are to be worn, such as on the Sabbath, at funerals, at meetings of friendship, and during the public holidays, they are carried to the spot by each individual respec-

* Because him have 'casion. On asking a good man who had given this designation to his freehold its meaning, he replied—"If any person have business wid me, him can come in; but if him don't want me in pottickler, me no wants him company, and him no 'casion to come."

† "If you don't come to trouble me, I don't go to trouble you."

tively in a basket on the head, and no sooner does the occasion cease than they are as carefully replaced in the basket, cleaned, and consigned to the family chest. Contrary to the prevailing opinion in England, the taste of the females is no longer characterized by the love of gaudy colours.

From the circumstances in which they have been placed, it can scarcely be expected that the qualities by which the female sex is so conspicuously adorned in Britain should be equally displayed by

these daughters of Ethiopia. Modesty, a sense of shame, together with a refined and delicate sensibility, are however becoming increasingly apparent.

The savage custom of impaling and eating reptiles and unclean animals no longer exists. Polygamy is now highly disreputable, and is universally regarded not only as sinful, but as subversive of social interests and domestic happiness; nor less so are concubinage and general licentiousness. Since the celebration of marriage by missionaries of all denominations has been legalized—which right was conceded to dissenters in general by an Act passed by the Colonial Legislature on the 2d of December, 1840—the ceremony has become so common as to be an almost daily occurrence. Out of a population of 420,000, not fewer than 14,840 marriages have taken place annually since that period, being a proportion of one in 29; indeed, everywhere marriage is now the rule, and concubinage the exception.*

Their ideas of the marriage state are entirely changed. It is now associated with everything virtuous and honourable in human conduct. It is by no means uncommon, when a married man is charged with inconsistency and sin of any kind, that surprise should be expressed on the ground of having entered into that relation; while those who worthily discharge its duties and obligations are invariably regarded as individuals deserving the highest respect and esteem.

In some districts, the circumstances under which a newly-married pair return to the plantation or a newly-formed village are peculiarly interesting; nearly all the inhabitants, together with friends and acquaintances from the neighbourhood, go out to meet them attired in their best garments, and forming themselves into two parallel lines, through which the bride and bridegroom, with their attendants, pass, shake them heartily by the hand, and invoke a thousand blessings on their union. In other instances, no sooner is the approach of the party announced than they are immediately surrounded, and the ear is filled with the clamour of congratulation. The first appearance of a negro pair at the House of God after the ceremony, usually presents an interesting scene. "God bless

you, my sister, my broder, my friend! me wish you much joy!" accompanied by other external signs of sympathy which none but the negro race can so eloquently and beautifully express, are uttered in concert by multitudes of voices.

Nor are the principles by which the conjugal, parental, and filial relations are sustained, either imperfectly understood or faintly developed.

Mutual harmony and tenderness, every mild virtue and soft endearment, which gives to home its solace and its charm, is now to be seen in lovely exercise in many a negro family. Comparatively humble as are their thatched and mud-walled cottages, they are associated in the minds of their sable tenants with pleasures that never cloy, and which leave neither stain nor sting behind. "Many a family presents a group worthy of the painter's pencil and the poet's song—a scene to excite the patriot's hope and the Christian's joy—a scene which ministering spirits view with high complacency, and a living sanctuary where the promised presence of the Saviour dwells." Amidst the stillness of a Sabbath evening, after their return from the House of God, often is such a family seen sitting beneath the shadow of the trees which overhang their cottage, engaged in singing a hymn or in listening to the reading of the Scriptures, or religious tracts, "none daring to make them afraid."

"Embosomed in his home
He shares the frugal meal with those he loves;
With those he loves he shares the heartfelt joy
Of giving thanks to God."

A surprising improvement is apparent in the manners and intercourse of the people at large. They no longer exhibit their former uncouth address and their sullen aspect and carriage, but are respectful to their superiors, graceful in their manners, and social in their dispositions. They never fail to return an act of civility even to a stranger on the public road, though they may be groaning beneath the heaviest burdens, and seldom are they known to offer an insult except under circumstances of great provocation.

Towards each other they manifest a politeness and respect sometimes approaching to extravagance. The lowest of the peasantry seldom meet without exchanging salutations, accompanied in general by mutual inquiries after the health of each other's

* See Candler's Journal, p. 23.

families. This practice is so general that among friends its accidental violation has often led to unpleasant consequences when not followed by an apology. Gratitude for favours received, respect for old age, love of offspring, generous compassion for the distressed, ardent and disinterested friendship, have, by the most prejudiced writers, been universally acknowledged to be redeeming qualities of the African character; qualities the development of which is daily becoming increasingly manifest.

However justly the charge of indolence and improvidence was formerly brought against the peasantry of Jamaica, it is now no longer of general application.

The term indolent can only be applied to the black population in the absence of remunerating employment. But even then they labour in their own provision grounds. Jamaica peasants loitering along the roads,—associated in groups in their villages for the purpose of idle gossip,—lounging about their residences,—or spending their time and money at taverns or places of similar resort, are seldom to be found.

On returning from their daily labour the men almost uniformly employ themselves in cultivating their own grounds or in improving their own little freeholds, and the women in culinary and other domestic purposes until driven to their frugal repast and to repose by darkness and fatigue. As to the great bulk of the people, making allowance for the influence of climate, no peasantry in the world can display more cheerful and persevering industry. These facts have not only been confirmed by missionaries and disinterested men throughout the island, as well as by Messrs. Gurney, Candler, and other philanthropic and highly respectable travellers, but by the public journals of the colonists themselves,—journals which are considered the organs of the most respectable portion both of the commercial and agricultural communities.

The editor of the Jamaica Morning Journal, a high authority, so lately as the 17th of February of the present year, thus speaks:—

“The colony remains in that quiescent condition which is so favourable to improvement, and it is gratifying to observe, as the result of this state of things, the impetus which has been given to the agricultural societies, and the formation of literary ones. We do not recollect ever to have

seen such vigorous efforts put forth for the improvement of the people and of agriculture as have been within the last few months.

“Except as to the want of labourers, we have no complaints; and, whether regarded socially or politically, the state of Jamaica at present is as favourable as could be desired by the most ardent lover of peace and quiet. The planters are looking forward to large crops, and are cheered by the hope that they will yet be enabled to recover themselves from the almost ruinous effects of the late drought.”

The evidence of Sir Charles Metcalfe from various circumstances will be regarded as important and decisive. It is contained in a despatch to Lord Stanley, and read by the Secretary for the Colonies in the House of Commons on the 22d of March, 1842. Six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and at the end of the second year of Sir Charles Metcalfe's government, he said, “The present condition of the peasantry in Jamaica is very striking. He did not suppose that any peasantry had so many comforts, or so much independence. Their behaviour *was peaceable*, and in some respects cheerful. They were found to *attend divine service* in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. *They sent their children to school, and paid for their schooling*, and not only attended the churches of their different communities, *but subscribed for their respective churches. Their piety was remarkable*; and he was happy to add, that in some respects they *deserved what they had*. They were generally *well ordered and free from crime*, had much improved in their habits, and were constant in their attendance on divine worship themselves, and in the attendance of their children, and were willing to pay the expenses.”

The following graphic description of the prosperous condition of Jamaica, by J. J. Gurney, Esq., will not only form an appropriate conclusion to the present chapter, but at the same time illustrate and confirm its statements:—“The imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising up in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of

labour adopted ; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever ; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth. Above all, education is rapidly spreading ; the morals of the community improving ; crime is in many districts disappearing ; and Christianity asserting her sway with vastly augmented force over the mass of the population. Cease from all attempts to oppose the current of justice and mercy—remove every obstruction to the fair and full working of freedom—and the bud of Jamaica's prosperity, already fragrant and vigorous, will soon burst into a glorious flower.*

"Say what avail'd, till Freedom's heav'nly band
Deign'd to revisit this forsaken land,
That spicy forests here their burthens bear,
And the rich pine perfumes its native air,
That, void and sapless in less favour'd fields,
Here the full reed divine ambrosia yields ;
For long her fate the hapless island wept,
Whilst o'er her plains the Hydra slavery swept ;
From shore to shore the growing ruin spread,
And Justice died, and Mercy, frighten'd, fled.
Till Freedom bade at length these horrors cease,
And call'd to joy, and brotherhood, and peace.
Oh, think, late lords of slaves, what numbers groan
In all the pangs from which you freed your own ;
Think too, late bondsmen, and with pity melt,
How millions feel what you have felt !"

CHAPTER XIV.

MORAL STATE AND ASPECTS OF SOCIETY.

Different Tribes of Africans—Peculiar Characteristics of each—Immoral Tendency of their Amusements—Funerals—Superstitions—Characteristic Vices—Contrast presented by the present State of Things—Description of a Funeral as now conducted—Causes of the late partial Revival of Obesism and Myalism—Decrease of Crime.

SECTION I.—Imported, as the slaves originally were, from such an immense continent as that of Africa, the regions whence they were supplied extending 2000 miles from north to south, and 600 from east to west, inhabited by various nations,

* It is delightful to add that this state of things continues to the present time ; a fact confirmed by the testimony of the present Governor, the Earl of Elgin, in a reply to an address presented to him when performing a tour of the Island, dated Lucea, April 8, 1843 :—"I have observed with much gratification the perfect cordiality which subsists between all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects in the island ; and, large as were my expectations, they have been surpassed by the beauty and fertility of the country."

differing materially from each other in civilization, religion, manners, and customs, it may be inferred that their tempers and dispositions would also vary according to the circumstances of the tribe or nation to which they belonged. The most distinguished of the tribes brought into the colony were the Mandingoes, the Foulahs, and others, from the banks of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande ; the Whidahs or Papaws, the Eboes, the Congoes, the Angolas, the Coromantees, and the Mocoos, from Upper and Lower Guinea. The Mandingoes, the Whidahs, and the Congoes, are said, in general, to have been docile, civil, obliging, and peaceable, in their natural tempers and dispositions ; but effeminate both in body and mind, and but ill able to endure the sufferings and toils of slavery. The Eboes are described as crafty, frugal, disputative, and avaricious ; also as haughty, fierce, and stubborn ; often manifesting a spirit of despondency, which not unfrequently urged them to the commission of suicide. Many of the Angolas and Mocoos are said to have been cannibals. The Coromantees, the inhabitants of the Gold Coast and its vicinity, are represented as "possessing all the worst passions of which imbruted humanity is susceptible,"—the tribe that had generally been at the head of all insurrections, and the original and parent stock of the Maroons : characteristics which, it is probable, were to a considerable degree the result of their condition, rather than of their nature. Their aggregate character when amalgamated into one society, under the influence of slavery, is thus described by an historian as the result of personal knowledge and observation :—"In their tempers they are, in general, irascible, conceited, proud, indolent, lascivious, credulous, and very artful. They are excellent dissemblers and skilful flatterers. They possess good-nature, and sometimes, but rarely, gratitude. Their memory soon loses the traces of favours conferred on them, but faithfully retains a sense of injuries ; this sense is so poignant that they have been known to dissemble their hatred for many years until an opportunity has presented of retaliation." "A debasement of all the mental faculties, and the destruction of every honourable principle," says another author, "seems to be the never-failing consequence of slavery ; so that even the

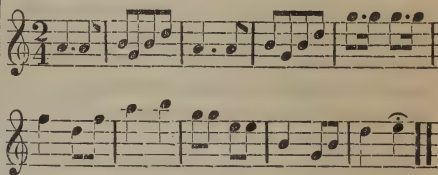
most high-spirited and courageous negro becomes, after remaining a few years in slavery, cunning, cowardly, and, to a certain degree, malevolent. The general disposition of the negroes in Jamaica, therefore, but to which there are some exceptions, may safely be asserted to be thievish, lazy, and dissimulating."

"Ἡμισυ γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται ἐνυρόπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦπαρ ἔλθῃσιν."
HOM. OD., lib. I7, v. 322.

SECTION II.—Their nightly dances or plays, which were frequent and general, were of a character the most licentious. They were usually accompanied by a band of the most rude and monotonous music, composed of instruments of African manufacture. The assemblage on such occasions consisted of both sexes, who ranged themselves in a circle round a male and female dancer, and performed to the music of their drums.

The songs were sung by the other females of the party; one alternately singing, while her companions repeated in chorus; the singers and dancers observing the exactest precision as to time and measure. On some occasions the dance consisted of stamping the feet, accompanied by various contortions of the body, with strange and indecent attitudes: on others, the head of each dancer was erect, or occasionally inclined forward; the hands nearly united in front; the elbows fixed, pointing from the sides; and the lower extremities being held firm, the whole person was moved without raising the feet from the ground. Making the head and limbs fixed points, they writhed and turned the body upon its own axis, slowly advancing towards each other, or retreating to the outer part of the circumference. Their approaches to each other, and the attitudes and inflexions in which they were made, were highly indecent, the performers being nearly naked. On public holidays, particularly those of Christmas, which, in some respects, resembled the Roman feasts of the Saturnalia, or rather the wild festivals of Africa, the scenes were oftentimes too disgusting to be looked upon. On such occasions each of the African tribes upon the different estates formed itself into a

distinct party, composed of men, women, and children. Each party had its King or Queen, who was distinguished by a mask of the most hideous appearance, and attired from head to foot in gaudy harlequin-like apparel. They paraded or gambolled in their respective neighbourhoods, dancing to the rude music, which was occasionally drowned by the most hideous yells from the whole party by way of chorus. The following is a specimen of the airs sung by the negroes on such occasions:—



In the towns, such processions were preceded by a tall athletic man, attired in the same grotesque habiliments, in addition to which he wore a most hideous head-dress, surmounted by a pair of ox-horns, while from the lower part of the mask large board-tusks protruded. This hero of the party was called John Connu, after the name of a celebrated African at Axim on the coast of Guinea, with whom the practice is supposed to have originated. He bore in his hand a large wooden sword which he occasionally brandished, accompanying its evolutions by a thousand fantastic freaks. Several companions were associated with him as musicians, beating banjas and tom-toms, blowing cow-horns, shaking a hard round black seed, called Indian shot, in a calabash, and scraping the bones of animals together, which, added to the vociferations of the crowd, filled the air with the most discordant sounds. They were chiefly followed by children and disreputable women, the latter frequently supplying the performers with intoxicating drinks. Being generally encouraged, they paraded the streets, and exhibited themselves in private houses, for whole days and nights successively; and in consequence of the violent exercise, the drunkenness, and other excesses in which they indulged, multitudes of them annually fell a prey to sickness and death.

On a New Year's Day *sets* of young women, or dancing girls, often elegantly dressed, and distinguished as reds and blues, or according to the colour of the

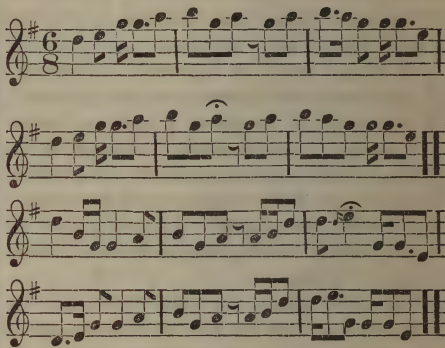
* The day unblest which first sees man a slave
Robs him of half the worth that nature gave.

riband worn by them as a badge, went from house to house of what were called the respectable inhabitants, and danced for voluntary gifts. The conduct of all parties on some of these occasions was disgraceful to humanity, while the dress of each individual of the sets being furnished in many cases by her owner, the profits of these excesses were shared between them.

SECTION III.—Their practices at funerals were unnatural and revolting in a high degree. No sooner did the spirit depart from the body of a relative or friend, than the most wild and frantic gesticulations were manifested, accompanied by the beating of drums and the singing of songs. When on the way with the corpse to interment, the bearers, who were often intoxicated, practised the most strange and ridiculous manœuvres. They would sometimes make a sudden halt, put their ears in a listening attitude against the coffin, pretending that the corpse was endued with the gift of speech—that he was angry and required to be appeased, gave instructions for a different distribution of his property, objected to his mode of conveyance, or refused to proceed farther towards the place of burial until some debts due to him were discharged, some slanderous imputation on his character removed, some theft confessed, or until they (the bearers) were presented with renewed potations of rum: and the more effectually to delude the multitude, and thereby enforce their claims, to some of which they were often instigated by the chief mourners, they would pretend to answer the questions of the deceased, echo his requirements, run back with the coffin upon the procession, or jerk with it from side to side of the road; not unfrequently, and under the most trivial pretence, they would leave the corpse at the door or in the house of a debtor or neighbour indiscriminately, and resist every importunity for its removal, until his pretended demands were satisfied.

On estates these ceremonies were generally performed in a manner which was, if possible, still more revolting. They took place at *night* by the light of torches, amidst drumming, dancing, singing, drunkenness, and debauchery. The coffin was usually supported on the heads of two bearers, proceeded by a man carrying a white flag, and followed by the intoxicated

multitude. They went to each house of the negro village ostensibly to “take leave,” but really for exaction and fraud. “The following air,” says Mr. Barclay, “I have heard sung by the heathen slaves at their funerals, and probably African. To me it appeared strikingly wild and melancholy, associated as it is in my mind with such recollections, and heard for the first time sung by savages interring their dead at the midnight hour.”



The corpse being deposited in the grave and partially covered with earth, the attendants completed the burial (for a time) by casting the earth behind them, to prevent the deceased from following them home. The last sad offices were usually closed by sacrifices of fowls and other domestic animals, which were torn to pieces and scattered over the grave, together with copious libations of blood and other ingredients, accompanied at the same time with the most violent and extravagant external signs of sorrow; they stamped their feet, tore their hair, beat their breast, vociferated, and manifested the most wild and frantic gestures. No sooner, however, did the party return to the house of their relatives and friends than every sign of sadness vanished; “the drums resounded with a livelier beat, the song grew more animated, dancing and festivity commenced, and the night was spent in riot and debauchery.” Were the deceased a female, the reputed husband for about a month afterwards was negligent in his person and dress. At the close of this period he proceeded with some of his friends to the grave with several articles of food, and sung a song congratulating the deceased on her enjoyment of complete happiness. This was supposed to terminate their mutual obligations. Each

of the party then expressed his wishes of remembrance to his kindred, repeated benedictions on his family, promised soon to return to them, repeated promises to take care of her children, and bade the deceased an affectionate farewell. An additional quantity of earth was now thrown over the grave, and the party partook of the repast they had provided, concluding the ceremony with dancing, singing, and vociferation, regarding death as a welcome relief from the calamities of life, and a passport to the never-to-be-forgotten scenes of their nativity.

Not only were the negroes the subjects of great superstitious credulity, but superstition itself in its most disgusting forms prevailed among them to a very great extent. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations, and barbarous customs, were continually practised. The principal of these were Obeism, Myalism, and Fetishism; and such was their influence upon the general mind, that they were accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil could invest them.

Obeism was a species of witchcraft employed to revenge injuries, or as a protection against theft, and is so called from Obi, the town, city, district, or province of Africa where it originated. It consisted in placing a spell or charm near the cottage of the individual intended to be brought under its influence, or when designed to prevent the depredations of thieves, in some conspicuous part of the house or on a tree; it was signified by a calabash or gourd containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different coloured rags, cat's teeth, parrot's feathers, toad's feet, eggshells, fish bones, snake's teeth, and lizards' tails.* Terror immediately seized the in-

dividual who beheld it, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases death was the inevitable consequence. Similar to the influence of this superstition was that of their solemn curses pronounced upon thieves, but which it would be too tedious to detail.

Myalism, as well as Fetishism, were constituent parts of Obeism, and included a mystery of iniquity which perhaps was never fully revealed to the uninitiated. The votaries of this art existed as a fraternity composed of individuals from the surrounding neighbourhood, who were regularly inducted into it in accordance with certain demoniacal forms. They adopted every possible means to increase their numbers, and proposed, as the advantages of membership, exemption from pain and premature death; from death, especially as designed by white men; or certain recovery from its influence when life was actually extinct. It was understood to counteract the effect of Obeism, but was often much more demoralizing and fatal in its results. The master of the ceremonies, who was usually denominated Doctor, by violent and excessive dancing, as well as by the use of poisonous drugs, deprived his victims of sensibility, and apparently of life; and when, by the use of medicinal herbs, he had restored them to their former condition, pretended that he had done so by extracting pieces of glass bottle, snakes, and other Obeah ingredients and reptiles from their skin.* A miraculous cure was hereby supposed to have been effected, and contributions were liberally awarded to the magician; seldom, however, did the constitution of the patient recover from the effects of the experiment. A few years since there was scarcely an estate which did not contain a priest or priestess of this deadly art, nor did there appear to be a single negro whose mind was not more or less under its influence.

The circumstances attending the Fetish oath, which was a pledge of inviolable secrecy, and usually administered previously to insurrections or individual murders, was terrible. Blood was drawn from each individual of the party present; this was

* Another part of the vile art was to cause the death of victims by pretending to catch their shadows, or holding them spell-bound, as within a magic circle. By the slave-law it was punishable by death. The following is a description of it as given by a witness on a trial that took place some years ago:

"Do you know the prisoner to be an Obeah man?
Ees, Massa, shadow-catcher true.
What do you mean by shadow-catcher?
Him heb coffin—[a little coffin was here produced]
—his set fo catch dem shadow.
What shadow do you mean?
When him set Obeah for somebody him catch dem shadow, and dem go dead."

Its nature was thus graphically explained to a gentleman by a negro whom he interrogated respecting it:—"If you want what cure it cure, if you want what kill it kill, massa."

* The author once saw a negro suffering from a gum-boil, who persisted in affirming that the Myal Doctor had extracted a snake from the affected part.

mixed with grave-dirt and gunpowder in a bowl, and was partaken of by each individual in the secret as a ratification of his sincerity.

SECTION IV.—In general both sexes were much addicted to drunkenness. The African parent even brought up his children to this destructive vice from their earliest infancy, while nurses administered rum to infants as soon as they were born. In some cases the practice of drinking ardent spirits was as much distinguished for its filthiness and economy, as it was for its moral turpitude, a single dram being often made to gratify the taste of a whole family.

To swearing they were awfully addicted. Not only did they profane the sacred name of God in common conversation or in the fury of malignant passion, but whenever they were afflicted or sustained any loss in the produce of their grounds by unpropitious seasons or any awful visitation of Divine Providence. On all such occasions did they accuse the Divine Being of partiality, and lift up their voices against him in blasphemy. Games of hazard with the dice, and gambling of almost every description, together with cock-fighting, and various gymnastic games, were almost universal.

Moral honesty, or a conscientious regard to truth, was not only unknown, but unlooked for; no one expected his neighbour to tell the truth, or to be upright in his dealings, any further than suited his convenience or interest; even parents educated their children in all the arts of dissimulation, fraud, and perfidy. "Which way did Fox run?" said an overseer to a negro boy, when in pursuit of a slave who had escaped from punishment. The boy pointed to a thicket in which the fugitive had eluded the grasp of his pursuer. On returning home the overseer was attracted by the shrieks of a child under severe punishment, and which proceeded from the negro village. Curiosity urged him to the spot, and on looking through the crevices of a negro hut, he saw the boy to whom he had just addressed himself suspended by his heels, writhing and moaning beneath the heavy chastisement inflicted on him by his *mother*, who repeated, during the intervals of the strokes, "Next time buckra ax

you which side neger run, you tell him me no know, massa." The overseer is said to have repeatedly put the boy to the test afterwards, but could never get the truth from him again. From these causes many, as they grow up, were unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood in the common occurrences of life. Truth, indeed, was designated in negro parlance "telling lies to buckra." A boy belonging to an estate-school brought up a school-fellow to his teacher for punishment on the charge of his having "told a lie upon him." "What lie did he tell about you?" said the teacher. "Him tell driber me no turn out to work a mornin, sar." On investigation it was found that the charge was true, but the plaintiff persisted in his suit in spite of all the reasoning of the teacher, and thought injustice was done him because the defendant was not convicted and punished; a feeling in which all the other boys of the school, many of whom had assisted in bringing the accused forward, deeply sympathized. Hence it was difficult to obtain a correct answer from a negro on the most trifling subjects. Nor is it surprising that under these and other circumstances they should not fear an oath. Many, indeed, had an idea that a false oath on "buckra's book," the Bible, would be attended by disastrous consequences, but protected themselves against them by concealing a small piece of silver coin—a broken rial—in their mouths as a charm. By multitudes, however, the most solemn oaths were no more regarded than a common declaration. Thus, as one of the demoralizing effects of slavery, the whole population may be said to "have gone astray from the birth, speaking lies."

With this deplorable lack of integrity and moral principle, added to the circumstances of their servile condition, it may be supposed that *theft* was prominent in their catalogue of sins. Their views of theft were very similar to those which they entertained with regard to falsehood. Depredations on the property of an owner were considered justifiable—*crimes* only when committed among themselves. Of this the following anecdote is an illustration:—"Me don't tief notin," said a negro who was detected by an overseer in the very act of stealing sugar—again and again protesting his innocence. "What do you mean, sir? haven't you got the

stolen property now in your possession?" "But me don't tief it, me only take it, massa." "What do you mean by that?" "As sugar belongs to massa, and myself belongs to massa, it all de same ting—dat make me tell massa me don't tief it; me only take it." "What do you call thieving, then?" "When me broke into broder house and ground, and take away him ting, den me tief, massa."

To escape the miseries of slavery, as well as from a vain hope that they would then return to their own land, and mingle again with their kindred beneath the shade of the family tree, suicide was awfully prevalent. Indeed at one period to such an extent was this crime committed, that to counteract its influence the legislature enacted a law that every one guilty of it should be hung in chains on the public roads till devoured by birds of prey.

SECTION V.—It is time, however, to portray a brighter scene, and to awaken sympathies of a higher order. From causes hereafter to be detailed, this state of society, especially during the last twenty years, has been most astonishingly improved. That cunning, craft, and suspicion—those dark passions and savage dispositions before described as characteristics of the negro, if ever possessed in the degree in which they are attributed to them,—are now giving place to a noble, manly, and independent, yet patient and submissive spirit. They now feel themselves to be men, and not, as they had been taught to believe, without any more claim to that distinction than the beasts which perish. Whatever of truth there might once have been in the representation previously given of their tempers and dispositions, it no longer applies to them as a body. Although the subjects of ardent passions and feelings, it is allowed by every disinterested observer that a more docile, kind-hearted, and generous people can scarcely be found. However justly or otherwise they may have been formerly chargeable with ingratitude, numberless cases have occurred in which, towards those who have really been their friends and benefactors, their gratitude has been found to be both general and excessive, as was strikingly evinced on the departures of Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith from the island.

The following sketch of the latter event will doubtless prove interesting.

Although Sir Lionel was to leave the vice-regal residence at the hour of day-break in the morning, some hundreds of persons had collected full two hours previously; and at half-past five o'clock, when he stepped into his carriage, there could not have been less than 2000 present. They were collected principally at the entrance of the road along which his Excellency had to pass from the square.

At the head of this immense mass was a large banner stretched across the street, bearing the inscription "Sir Lionel Smith, the Poor Man's Friend and Protector," whilst others, on which was inscribed "We Mourn the Departure of our Governor," and similar devices, were variously distributed throughout the line.

The feelings of regret and veneration universally expressed on the approach of his Excellency were overpowering, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he and his attendants resisted the general determination to convey him back again, all being apparently resolved that he should not leave them. For a considerable distance the whole mass hung upon the carriage, or ran beside it, until ready to faint with fatigue, uttering lamentations and invoking blessings on his head. Mothers in almost every instance exhibited their infants as trophies—trophies of the blessings and advantages of freedom. Exclusively of the multitude thus congregated in the town, the road leading to the place of embarkation, which extended a distance of six miles, was thronged with people.

Interesting and affecting, however, as was the scene already beheld, that exhibited on the arrival of the procession at Port Henderson was doubly so. Added to the number of people of all ranks and colours pouring into the village along the roads as far as the eye could reach, an immense number, nearly all of whom were in deep mourning, or wore black riband in some conspicuous part of their dress, had drawn themselves up in two parallel lines at the entrance, and as Sir Lionel and his *cortège* had proceeded to the middle of the lines the whole mass surrounded them, and declaring that their "Governor and friend" should not leave them, began to effect their purpose, by taking the horses from the carriage to draw him back again to the

seat of government. This determination being at length overruled, they then insisted on drawing him to the beach, as the last act of kindness they could show him. To avoid this, probably from the excitement it might occasion, the veteran alighted from his carriage, intending to walk the remainder of the way.

He was in a moment surrounded by the multitude, whose lamentations and other expressions of sorrow at his departure so completely overcame him and several of his attendants that they seemed scarcely able to proceed. As an evidence, indeed, if any were wanting, that the hero of a hundred battles had still a heart alive to sympathy, his deep emotion at length vented itself by a torrent of tears. The effect of this was, as may be supposed, irresistible—(a veteran warrior in tears!)—and the whole mass seemed to catch the contagion. At the same time the assembled multitude, now greatly augmented, had formed themselves around him as an impenetrable barrier, as though determined he should not advance. After some expostulation and entreaty the mass gave way, and all moved on together to the beach, with all the solemnity and sorrow of a funeral procession, in which some great benefactor was the object of regret. Arriving at the water's edge the scene became affecting beyond all description. The sobs of the multitude, hitherto half-stifled, now burst forth like a torrent; and from the noble-minded object of all this affection downwards, throughout the whole mass, which included several officers and civilians of the highest distinction in the colony, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen. As the boat receded from the shore Sir Lionel rallied sufficiently to bow to the assembled crowd, and cries and lamentations, intermingled with invocations, followed him until he was out of hearing.

Seldom has the eye witnessed a more affecting scene, and certainly never did a more popular Governor quit the shores of Jamaica.

No people can exhibit greater tenderness of disposition, or more that is endearing in the various relationships of life, than do our black and coloured brethren. Their character is distinguished by some features unusually amiable; by a peculiar warmth of the social affections, and by a close adherence to all the ties of kindred.

Filial dutifulness and attachment are remarkable traits in their character, and sometimes manifest themselves in a way peculiarly touching.

"What kind of a woman was your mother?" said a slave-master some years ago in a familiar mood to a fine African boy whom he had purchased. The boy's heart writhed beneath the associations it awakened. "Come, tell me," said the white man, who regarded the black man as a brute only fit to be insulted, "What kind of a woman was she?—Was she tall?—Was she thin?—Was she old?—Was she beautiful?" The boy lifted up his glistening eyes, and in broken accents said, "How could a mother but be beautiful in the eyes of her child?" Maternal tenderness scarcely admits of an exception, and cases of infanticide are unknown. Lander, during his journey in Africa, frequently met with "mothers who carried about their persons little wooden images of their deceased infants, to whose lips they presented a portion of food whenever they partook of it themselves, and nothing could induce them to part with these inanimate memorials."

In no part of the world can travelling be accomplished with greater personal safety than in Jamaica. An attempt at robbery or murder on the highway is scarcely ever heard of. It is customary to travel through the interior of the country, and that generally without any defensive weapons, during any part of the night.

In this the author speaks from experience, having travelled through the settlements of the black population in the interior,—by their houses along the public roads, or scattered amidst the frightful solitudes of impervious forests and isolated glens, at all hours of the night, attended only by a guide, and never had any suspicions awakened by the appearance of a black or coloured man. Even dwelling-houses in the country are but rarely bolted or locked at night. A white mendicant was scarcely ever turned from the hut of a negro unpitied or unrelieved, or a fatigued and half-famished traveller unrefreshed.

No women in the world can possess more of genuine kindness than the black females of Jamaica. To a stranger arrested by sickness on the road, and unable to proceed, none would more tenderly act the part of the good Samaritan. If benighted, no more friendly voice could invite them

to a shelter till the morning dawn appeared—no face could beam with greater tenderness and hospitality, and no generosity could be more abundantly displayed in providing for his refreshment and repose.

Once, when passing through a Maroon town, parched with thirst and exhausted with fatigue, the writer called at one of their huts, and requested a draught of water, and he will never forget the tenderness and compassion with which he was surveyed by the inmates, the earnestness with which they sprang forward to hold his horse, or the eloquence with which they urged him into their clean and comfortable apartment. Such was the pleasure which his acquiescence afforded them, that it was with difficulty he could deter the family from endeavouring to lay almost the whole village under contribution for his refreshment. Having a long journey before him, he remained but a few minutes, and departed amidst their loud and repeated benedictions.

On another occasion, when travelling among the mountains, the author was attacked with fever; and the symptoms increasing, so as to render him unable to proceed, he turned his horse's head towards a decent looking residence, which he soon found was occupied by a family of colour. Here he was recognised; and an angel could scarcely have been more welcome. The house was cheerless; but he was put in the best apartment; the cleanest and best covering the cottage could afford was spread for his repose; while the inhabitants of the whole neighbourhood seemed to be employed in acts of kindness for his recovery. Some gathered medicinal herbs; others were sent in different directions for medicinal ingredients; and while some prepared them, others applied leaves to his oppressed and burning head—the seat of the disorder. On his restoration to reason (for he had been delirious), the patient found himself surrounded by an immense crowd; some of whom were pitying him, some expressing their hopes that Misses would not hear of it, and others praying earnestly for his restoration.

The writer has scarcely ever been in such circumstances without thinking of the eulogium pronounced on the female sex by Mungo Park, called forth by the kindness of the African female, in the little Bambarra cottage near Sego; or the still

more beautiful and sentimental one of Ledyard's:—"I have always remarked," says the latter, "that women in all countries are civil, obliging, tender, and humane. . . . To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering through the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden and frozen Lapland, rude and curlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide-spread regions of the wandering Tartar—if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me; and to add to this virtue (so worthy of the appellation of benevolence), their actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and, if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel, with a double relish."

Scenes of dissipation and the midnight revel are now comparatively unknown in the island. Throughout whole districts, where such practices were common, scarcely a drum or other rough instrument of music is heard throughout the year. The frantic orgies and Bacchanalian festivities of the Christmas holidays, with a few exceptions, are confined now almost exclusively to the towns, where they are secretly encouraged; but even here they are becoming increasingly unpopular, and will be speedily extinct. The processions on such occasions are now few, and composed of the lowest and most disreputable of the public, chiefly from the country, whose puerilities excite the disgust of the intelligent, and the ridicule of children.

The absurd ceremonies and disgusting scenes practised and beheld at funerals are now generally discontinued both in town and country. They are also attended to during the *day*, and that nearly in accordance with civilized custom.

To relieve the solitariness of individual watching, and to calm their troubled spirit, it is customary in most cases for the friends of the deceased to sit up with the corpse on the night previous to interment; but the hours are usually spent—not in rioting and drunkenness, not in frantic mirth and revelry—but in religious conversation and prayer. It is still usual to sing on such occasions; but the songs are the songs of

Zion, and the dirge is in unison with the solemnity of the event. Instead of the riotous, and in every way revolting spectacles formerly exhibited in following the corpse to the grave, more orderly deportment on such occasions is not discovered in the most civilized parts of the world; whilst the succeeding obsequies are regarded with a solemnity of feeling on the part of the spectators, and are accompanied by such expressions of subdued and reverential sorrow by the bereaved, as seldom fail to render the scene deeply solemn and impressive.

As a contrast to the manner in which funerals were formerly conducted in the rural districts, it may not be uninteresting to give the following specimen, in which the author was personally concerned. It was in a negro village on an estate. Some time before he reached the spot, his ear was saluted by the sounds of a soft and plaintive air; and on turning an angle round a clump of cocoa-nut trees, he found about fifty persons, chiefly females, decently dressed, sitting in front of one of the cottages, beneath a shed constructed for the occasion, covered over with leaves of the plantain tree. They were singing a hymn from Dr. Rippon's selection. After a little conversation with them, the minister entered the hut to see the deceased. The coffin, the shroud, and other appendages, were plain and neat; and in nothing did the usages differ from those practised in this country, but in the circumstance that the deceased was laid out in his best suit of clothes—a custom which is common among all classes in the West Indies.

Every thing being announced as ready by the leader of the class to which the deceased had belonged, and who, as was usual, superintended the arrangements gratuitously, the coffin was placed on the shoulders of four men decently dressed. The writer placed himself at its head, and was followed by the procession to the bottom of a garden, rendered conspicuous by rude monumental piles of brick—it was the family burial-place. The last sad offices being performed, the immediate relatives of the departed were assisted to the side of the grave to cast a last look at the coffin, over which they uttered a few audible lamentations, and vented their feelings in a shower of tears, in which they were joined by most of the spectators.

The grave being filled up, the procession withdrew in nearly the same order as that in which it had advanced. The conductor of the ceremony then re-entered the cottage, and after partaking of a piece of cake handed him by an aged African female, on a waiter covered with a napkin of purest white, delivered an exhortation suitable to the solemn occasion, and returned home.

As a further proof of the progress which the negroes have made in civilization (and for the illustration of which these *particulars* are introduced), it may be remarked that the spell of Obeism and its kindred abominations is broken, and the enchantment dissolved. In some districts, it is true, Myalism has recently revived; but it has been owing to the absence of a law since the abrogation of the Slave Act, by which the perpetrators could be punished, together with the difficulties and expensiveness, in many districts, of procuring proper medical advice and aid. Thus the Myalmen, having most of them been employed in attendance on the sick in the hospitals of estates, and thereby acquired some knowledge of medicine, have, since the abolition of slavery, set up as medical men; and, in order to increase their influence, and, consequently, their *gains*, have called to their aid the mysteries of this abominable superstition; in many cases accomplishing their purposes by *violence* as well as by terror. The more effectually to delude the multitude, the priests of this deadly art, now that religion has become general, have incorporated with it a religious phraseology, together with some of the religious observances of the most popular denominations, and thus have in some instances succeeded in imposing on the credulity and fears of many of whom better things had been expected. These circumstances have aroused the energies of the missionaries to an exposure of the system; as also the civil authorities to the punishment of the offenders when convicted of a violation of the law; so that in a very short period it may be hoped but few vestiges of the superstition will remain.

It is universally acknowledged that intemperance is not now the besetting sin of the lower classes in Jamaica. On the first introduction of the Gospel by black teachers, abstinence from intoxicating drinks was made a term of communion—

and this previously to the existence of temperance and total-abstinence societies : so that even before the abolition of slavery intemperate habits had been abandoned by nearly one-third of the population. Within the last two years many small public-houses have been established in different parts of the country, and it has been apprehended that the vice would revive. In some districts these fears have been, to a considerable degree, realized; but in others they have been counteracted by the influence of total-abstinence societies. Of all the particulars in which perhaps the least improvement is perceptible is that of a conscientious regard to truth and honesty in commercial transactions. In spite of the utmost efforts to hold up these vices as injurious to society and hateful to God, it cannot be denied that they are still very prevalent. Multitudes regard it as their duty to resort to almost any artifice by which their gains may be increased. In negotiating with a negro for an article he exhibits for sale, a person may at any time offer him less than one-third of his demand, without the least apprehension of incurring his displeasure. Nor are these remarks less applicable to hundreds of tradesmen of higher pretensions, and a fairer skin.

The violation of the third commandment is now seldom heard, but under circumstances of violence and passion, and scarcely ever in the public streets, without exciting the cry of shame from the passers-by : whilst even falsehood and dishonesty are gradually yielding to the light of truth and the force of principle. Burglaries are said to be more frequent than formerly ; but these have been chiefly perpetrated by a few liberated convicts and other notorious offenders. Although every trifling infraction of the law (contrary to former usage) is now publicly known and punished, the frequent absence of serious offences from the calendar of the courts of quarter-sessions and assize, and jails often destitute of prisoners, are sufficient and palpable evidences of the general decrease of crime. Domestic servants are beginning to be eminently trustworthy ; and, when properly treated and confided in, do not suffer by a comparison with the great bulk of the same class in England. In numberless cases they are devotedly attached to their employers and their families, and manifest a concern for their interests

almost unparalleled in the annals of human history ; watching them by day and night in sickness ; and in times of danger hazarding their lives for the protection of their persons and property. Suicide is now scarcely heard of throughout the length and breadth of the land. In every respect is society advancing to that high moral standard which is fixed in the great Christian code.

It is truly gratifying to add that the sentiments of the country at large are in delightful harmony with these observations, as is evident by the following Extracts from recent numbers of the "Morning Journal :"—

" St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, Aug. 1842.

" A Court of Quarter-sessions was held at Rodney-hall on the 8th instant, T. W. Jackson, Esq., chairman.

" The Chairman addressed the Grand Jury briefly, remarking upon the light state of the calendar, which contained no cases of unusual importance. A few cases which had lain over from last Court were disposed of ; after which, there being no bills, the Grand Jury were discharged, and the Court adjourned."

" Kingston, March 22, 1843.

" IMPROVEMENT IN THE TIMES.

" Our readers will be surprised, and we doubt not pleased, to learn that for the last five days not a single prisoner has been taken up and committed to the cage of this city ! We record this fact with great pleasure, as we believe such a circumstance never occurred since the building of the city."

It is worthy of remark that St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, the parish to which the first of these extracts refers, contains a population of 11,000 of recently-enfranchised peasantry, who, during the operation of the systems of slavery and apprenticeship, were considered the most ignorant, demoralized, and refractory of any on the island.

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGIOUS STATE.

SECT. I.—Awful Destitution of Religion in the Island during the first Century of its Occupation by the British—Ignorance of the Black People—Idolatry—Superstition—Subsequent corrupted Christianity—Influence of Ignorant and Superstitious Teachers—Desecration of the Sabbath—Paucity of Places of Religious Worship; of Hearers—Clergy—Their unfavourable Opinion expressed to Parliament as to the Instruction and Conversion of the Slaves—Opinions of Infidel Philosophers.

SECT. II.—Arrival of Missionaries—Opposition experienced—Subsequent Success—Abolition of Sunday Markets—Improved Observance of the Sabbath—Number of regular Places of Worship in 1843—Number of Missionaries—Great Extension of Religion—Village Chapels—Attendance at Places of Worship—Average Size of the largest Congregations—Number of Missionaries of all Denominations—Number of Native Assistants.

SECT. III.—Number of Members in communion with each of the Churches and Denominations of Christians, and aggregate of Inquirers, &c., connected with each Denomination—Size of individual Churches—Manner of admitting Members—Wesleyans, Baptists—Number added to Baptist Churches at one time; in one year—Total Number added to Baptist and Wesleyan Churches during the last twenty years.

SECTION I.—For upwards of a hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British Crown, scarcely an effort was made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of *Christianity*; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an Act was passed by the local Legislature, “directing” that all slave-owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptized, “when fit for it,” it is evident, from the very terms in which the Act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterwards proved, a dead letter—a mere political manoeuvre, intended to prevent the interference of the parent state in the management of the slaves.

In answer to certain inquiries made by Parliament in 1790, as to the actual state of religious instruction in Jamaica, Mr. Wedderburn replied—“There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no attention paid to religious instruction.” The same testimony was borne, at the same time, by Mr. Fuller, agent, of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, “What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves?” answered, “We know of none such in Jamaica.”

“When I first landed in Jamaica,” says Dr. Coke, which was in 1789, “the form

of godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between 300,000 and 400,000, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world.” The language of the Apostle seemed strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity:—“There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulchre; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known.”

“As to sending missionaries among them,” referring to one of the African tribes, said Mr. Edwards, the historian of Jamaica, in his place in the House of Commons, in 1796, “I speak from my own knowledge when I say that they are cannibals, and that, instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him.”

Under such circumstances the religious state of the slave population must have been deplorable. It may be emphatically said that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the island groaned.

Most of the negroes appear to have possessed some notion of a Supreme Being; though, like all uncivilized nations, their ideas of the Deity were very confused and unbecoming. From the frequency of earthquakes, hurricanes, and tornadoes, when the elements seemed to conspire their destruction, they associated with his character all the base passions and attributes of a vindictive and capricious mortal. Hence their devotion was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of terror. Some of them were Papists; some professedly belonged to the Cophtic or Abyssinian churches; some were Mohammedans; some Polytheists and Atheists; but most of them idolaters—worshippers of the sun and moon, of the ocean, of the rocks, of fountains and rivers, of lofty trees, and images of various forms and dimensions. Their idolatry, too, was of the basest possible description.

They did not, like the Hindoos, regard their idols as mere symbolical representations of the Divinity, and useful only as sensible objects to awaken the memory and animate devotion; but ascribed divine power to the material itself, and absolutely worshipped the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. Serpents, lizards, the yellow snake, and other revolting reptiles, also ranked high in the polluted catalogue of their divinities. The Moco tribe, and others bordering on their territory in Africa, are said not only to have worshipped snakes and other reptiles, but also to have eaten them when thus deified. Many worshipped the devil himself, or some imaginary being whom they regarded as the source of all evil.

Absurd, monstrous, and discordant as were the elements which composed their religious system, there is yet to be united with it another ingredient which, if less revolting in its aspect and character, was not only equally unproductive of rational piety and consistent morality, but far more injurious in its consequences. Many of them, from motives of ambition and pecuniary advantage, soon acquired a knowledge of the formularies of the English Church; and, at the conclusion of the war with America, some who had been imported from that continent, mysteriously blending together important truths and extravagant puerilities, assumed the office of teachers and preachers, disseminating far and wide their pernicious follies.

The more effectually to impose upon the credulity of their ignorant and unsuspecting brethren, they endeavoured to persuade them that they were sent of God, and were endowed by him with peculiar gifts and graces. They pretended to read—to foretell future events; to possess the gift of tongues; and to prophesy. They seldom delivered their instructions without a book, representing it as the Bible; although it as frequently happened to be some other book of a certain size and shape. In one instance a teacher of this description was found haranguing a large assembly from ‘Burn’s Justice,’ holding it upside down. Among the other characteristic errors of this sect, its teachers interpreted what little they knew of the Scriptures literally.

At Christmas it was customary for them and their disciples to go in groups into the woods, or, if there were any in the neigh-

bourhood, among the sheep, over which they pretended to watch, in imitation of the shepherds, to whom the angels announced the birth of the Redeemer, and this under the delusive expectation of being favoured with a similar visitation, or, as they expressed it, “they went into the ‘bush’ to see the angels,” who it was believed made an annual appearance. Their usual attitude in prayer partook of all the austerities of penance. They either stood with their arms extended, and their whole bodies as though transfixed against the wall, or prostrated themselves upon the earth; and in this attitude they remained many hours at a time, and sometimes through the entire night, manifesting the most violent muscular contortions, and uttering the most discordant sounds expressive of internal anguish and agonizing supplication.

At certain seasons each individual, taking a solitary course, wandered into the woods and most secluded parts of the country, in search of the Saviour, professedly after the manner of John the Baptist in the wilderness.

When any of the fraternity were confined to their beds by sickness, the minister, or father, as he was usually called, anointed them with oil in imitation of the anointing of the Saviour by Mary Magdalene, before his crucifixion. The usual method of its application was by pouring it into the palm of the hand, and rubbing it on the head of the patient; the tata, or father, singing some ditty during the operation, being joined in loud chorus by all who assembled to witness the ceremony.

The influence and temporal interests of these deluded and deluding men increased in proportion to the number of their converts; and, most of them being free men, the duties of their assumed vocation were most assiduously performed. They usually led a wandering life, travelling by night to avoid apprehension. Wherever they took up their residence for a season, they communicated their instructions from house to house, and, with a gravity and importance which they knew well how to assume, confirmed their disciples in the faith. On the visit of one of these impostors to a new neighbourhood, his inquiry at each house was whether any praying persons resided there? and on meeting with a negative he immediately began to open his commission.

If listened to with attention, and treated with respect and hospitality, he lifted up his hands and eyes, and exclaimed, "Peace be to this house." If, on the contrary, he was treated with indifference and insult, he shook off the dust from his feet as a testimony against them.

These infatuated men professed a firm belief in purgatory, and, like the Romish priests, pretended an acquaintance with the destinies of the deceased. Thus, on inquiries being made of their teachers by surviving relatives or friends, the uniform reply was that "they would go and dream about it, and give the required information on the morrow." It scarcely need be added that this question involved in it several conditions, and that the reply was more or less in accordance with the wishes of the applicant.

Dreams and visions constituted fundamental articles of their creed. Some supernatural revelations were regarded as indispensable to qualify for admission to the full privileges of their community. Candidates were required, indeed, to dream a certain number of dreams before they were received to membership, the subjects of which were given them by their teachers.

The meetings of this fraternity were frequently prolonged through nearly half the night. The priests enjoined on their followers the duty of fasting one or two days in the week, and encouraged a weekly meeting at each others' houses, alternately, to drink "hot water" out of white tea-cups (the whole of the tea-table paraphernalia corresponding), which they designated by the absurd and inappropriate epithet of "breaking the peace." To such a deplorable extent did they carry these superstitious practices, and such was the degree of ignorance on the part of both priests and people, that, in the absence of better information as to what was to be sung in their religious assemblies, they were in the habit of singing the childish story of "the House that Jack Built." Things if possible still more absurd were sung by them on such occasions, while "hallelujah" was repeated at the end of each verse in loud chorus. These are facts which the writer has repeatedly gathered from lips of some of the parties themselves.

The consequences of these practices it would be irrelevant to trace. So rapidly,

however, was their influence extending throughout the country on the arrival of the missionaries, that but for the efforts of the latter in counteracting it, it must soon have involved consequences of the most serious character, not only with regard to morals and religion, but also as it respected the pecuniary interests of the colonists.

There was an almost universal desecration of the *Sabbath*. The slaves regarded this sacred day as one which was to be devoted wholly to temporal pursuits. To the industrious it was a time for labour; to others of sport and recreation. Thousands on this day met in the public markets. It was a kind of weekly carnival where friends and acquaintances congregated, universal merriment prevailed, and reckless dissipation was everywhere indulged. It was spent indeed worse than were the Christian holidays. The book of sports seemed to have been introduced and patronised, and all the vices which disgraced the reign of Charles II. to have been exemplified and perfected. Certain places were selected for public diversion. Dancing, yelling, wrestling, fighting, and gambling, met the eye in every direction, while the horrid din of savage music fell distressingly upon the ear. The very streets and lanes in and about the towns presented such scenes of riot and wickedness that scarcely a decent person dared walk out even at noon-day. At a very early hour on a Sabbath morning every road leading to the towns and market-stations of the country was crowded with negroes, carrying to the market heavy loads of ground provisions, wood, grass, &c., while the market itself baffled all description. Every bad passion of the human heart was there seen in active operation. Covetousness exhibited itself under all its Protean forms; cheating, thieving, and extortion abounded on every hand. Anger, jealousy, and revenge declared themselves by loud bursts of furious passion, by oaths and imprecations, by cursings and fightings, whilst scenes of the most revolting drunkenness were visible in all directions. On the evening of the day every road was crowded with negroes returning from market with a supply of salt provisions, and other articles which their morning sales had enabled them to procure, and on these roads drunkenness and riot were to be seen at every step.

Nor was the desecration of this day confined to the purposes of traffic. Most of the rivers were crowded with washerwomen. The negro-houses were undergoing repairs, and the provision-grounds peopled with workmen. This violation was constant, open, and systematic, as well as universal.

There was a great paucity of places of *religious worship*. Even in the year 1800 there were only twenty churches on the island, the population being then estimated at 400,000 souls, making an aggregate of 19,000 to each parish; and on the supposition that each parish had a rector, there were 19,000 to each clergyman, which was not more than one in each district of 560 square miles. Accordingly, from the size of the parishes, these places of worship were distant a day's journey from thousands of the parishioners, and so small that, although situated in the midst of a population of 19,000 souls, they would not contain more than from 100 to 150 hearers each. Seldom were they all open at one time, and less frequently did the whole number of hearers throughout the island exceed 300 persons.

Thus lamentably deficient in number and size as were the sanctuaries of the Most High, and appalling as was the indifference and irreligion everywhere displayed, there is another circumstance still more to be deplored. From all that can be gathered it does not appear that even one of these places of worship was occupied by an evangelical clergyman. The whole of that professedly sacred order might then have been designated, in the emphatic language of the prophet, "ignorant shepherds, dumb dogs that could not bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber, greedy dogs which can never have enough, shepherds that could not understand, all looking to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter."^{*}

Even at a much later period a pious clergyman, or a pious white layman, was not to be found in the whole island. Scarcely could Sodom and Gomorrah have presented a greater dearth of all that was virtuous and good in human character. This appalling representation is tacitly sustained by the concessions of Francis Hanson, a long resident in Jamaica, and who, in a

history of the constitution of the island written about the year 1805, says, "I may also add that the people generally are of the Church of England. We have very few papists and sectaries, for neither Jesuits nor Nonconformist parsons do or can live amongst us. Some few have attempted, but could never gain proselytes enough to afford them sustenance."

In the year 1816, as the result of discussions in England, a curate was added to each parish; but even after the appointment of this additional number of clergymen the spiritual instruction of the slaves seems hardly to have been contemplated, as is proved by the following returns made to the Colonial Secretary by clergymen themselves. The rector of Clarendon, Jamaica, having under his care a population of 18,000 souls, says—"I have time but little more than sufficient to discharge the common functions of my office, in burying, marrying, and christening, and attending on Sundays my church, which is situated at least ten miles from my rectory. Limited, however, as I am with respect to time, I have yet endeavoured to do all that I could. Within the last thirteen months I have twice made known to the principal proprietors and attorneys in this parish my readiness to attend on such properties, for the religious instruction of the slaves, as they would permit me to visit; but I have not been able to obtain the consent of more than two of them."

The rector of St. Thomas's in the East agrees with the reverend gentleman whose authority is just cited. "The fact is, in respect to slaves in general, that their knowledge of the English language is so very limited that they can derive little or no advantage from their attendance at church. They are so conscious of this defect, that when I go to church for the express purpose of catechising them, very few will attend, and not one of these will utter a word but what has been put into his mouth. How then, it may be said, are twenty-six thousand slaves (the number in this parish) to be instructed? The subject has frequently engaged my thoughts, and I cannot conceive any other mode than this: let the young creole slaves be taught to speak and read, and at the same time be instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion, in public schools established in different parts of the parish; and

^{*} Isaiah lvi., 10, 11.

let them communicate what instruction they have received in their own way to their African brethren, to whom it is *impossible* for white people to make themselves understood."

From the opinion expressed in the concluding sentence of this latter paragraph, it is evident that the conversion of the negroes to Christianity was generally considered impossible, "a hopeless task," "a wild and ridiculous theory." "Such," says Mr. Long, "is their general inappetency to become converts, together with their barbarous stupidity and ignorance of the English language, which renders them incapable of understanding and reasoning upon what is said to them, that it would foil the most zealous endeavours." Says Bosman:—"If it were possible to convert the African negroes to Christianity, the Roman Catholics would probably succeed better than any other sect," assigning as a reason, the influence which pageantry and show ever exerts over the untutored mind. "Among a host of similar testimonies," says Long, "the Rev. Mr. Hughes, a clergyman in Jamaica, supports the same conclusion. 'To bring them,' says he, 'to the knowledge of the Christian religion is undoubtedly a great and good design, in the intention laudable, and in speculation easy; yet I believe, for reasons too tedious to be mentioned, that the difficulties attending it are, and I am persuaded ever will be, insurmountable.'"

SECTION II.—Such was the moral and religious state of the black population, and such the opinions entertained with regard to the impossibility of their conversion to God down to a comparatively recent period, and such, in all probability, would they have remained to the present hour, had it not been for the efforts of missionaries from other religious denominations. The first of these were the Moravians, who, in 1754, appointed "Brother Caries and two other missionaries to Jamaica, in compliance with the wishes of some proprietors in one of the country parishes." In 1782, Mr. George Lisle, a black man, the slave of a British officer, and who had been the pastor of a Baptist church in Georgia, in the United States, was brought over by his master to Kingston, accompanied by his

wife and family. He was shortly followed by several members of his church, among whom were Moses Baker, and Messrs. Gibbs and Robinson. By some providential occurrences Mr. Lisle was led to exercise his ministry in Kingston and its environs, in which he was greatly assisted by the above-named brethren.

The Wesleyans began their operations in Jamaica in 1789, under Dr. Coke, who, after preaching in various parts of the island, originated a permanent station in the same populous city, over which he appointed Mr. Hammet. The Baptist Missionary Society directed its efforts to the island in 1813. Their first missionary was Mr. John Rowe, who was sent to co-operate with Moses Baker, at a station called Flamstead, near Falmouth, to which part of the island the latter had been removed.

Great anxiety was manifested by the coloured and black people generally to hear the Gospel, and thousands, hearing, believed to the saving of their souls. Owing, however, to the violent opposition of the white inhabitants, and the successive enactment of laws intended to counteract their efforts, the labours of these servants of God were often suspended, and their flocks scattered like sheep without a shepherd. About the year 1815, the drooping spirits of both ministers and people began again to revive. His Majesty in Council had repeatedly disallowed the persecuting laws of the colonists, and otherwise discountenanced their proceedings, as the result of which open hostility began somewhat to abate. Accordingly, in December of that year, Mr. Shipman, Wesleyan missionary, obtained a license from the authorities to preach, although not until after several unsuccessful attempts.

The chapel in Kingston, which had been closed for several years, was now reopened. Two years afterwards the spirit of hearing had so greatly increased that another chapel in connexion with the same body of Christians was opened in another part of the city, and one also at Montego Bay. In the meantime two more missionaries with their wives had been sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society, Messrs. Compere and Coultart, who were accompanied by two pious artisans, Messrs. Tripp and Thurston.

Mr. and Mrs. Compere landed in the

latter part of the year 1816, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Old Harbour Bay, from which they soon after removed to Kingston. In a few months they quitted the island for America, and were succeeded at Kingston by Mr. and Mrs. Coultart. Cessation from open hostilities still continuing, the poor people flocked to the houses of God in increasing numbers, and reiterated their entreaties that more missionaries might be sent to them. The committees of the different societies in England, according to their ability, responded to the appeal. The number of missionaries was therefore, from time to time, increased, so that in the year 1824 there were four Moravian stations, occupied by an equal number of missionaries; eight missionaries and stations belonging to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and five stations superintended by an equal number of missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society. Their labours were now distributed as widely as possible throughout the country, and increasingly interesting and important statements being continually transmitted to the societies at home, agents were successively multiplied, churches planted, and thousands savingly converted. At various periods during the existence of slavery the dormant spirit of persecution revived, and sometimes with an energy which seemed to threaten the destruction of the missions. But in every instance did the overruling hand of God prevent the accomplishment of its object. The tide of knowledge and religion had begun to flow, and utterly in vain was every attempt to impede its onward progress. A new era had dawned upon Jamaica, and a change was gradually taking place, which, in the short space of about twenty years, has produced results probably unprecedented in any age or country. It recalls to our remembrance the events of apostolic times, when superstition burnt her books on the altar of truth, when the idols of the heathen fell, and the throne of Satan trembled. It resembled the introduction of Christianity into Judea, where, when the Jewish priests rejected him who came to them with life and immortality, "the common people heard him gladly." Completely verified was the prediction—"a people whom I have not known shall serve me, so soon as they hear of me they shall obey me, and the strangers shall submit themselves

unto me."* "So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed."†

From the hold which superstition had obtained upon the minds of the people, it is but natural to suppose that its eradication would be extremely difficult, as well as a work of time. It has, however, relaxed and disappeared, in proportion to the means which have been employed. Fifteen or twenty years ago, in a negro burying-ground, at no great distance from the author's residence in Spanish Town, there was scarcely a grave that did not exhibit from two to four rudely carved images; and it was a common custom, even for comparatively respectable persons annually to strew the rude tombs with which it abounded with viands, and to pour upon them libations of wine and blood, as offerings to their supposed divinities. Such practices have long been discontinued, and were any to adopt them at the present day, it would affix to their characters a stigma which would almost exclude them from the pale of society. In the towns and districts, where the means of moral and religious instruction have been regularly afforded, and that throughout a series of years, very few vestiges of the ancient superstition remain in any form. Like every other species of imposture, superstition has its foundation in ignorance, and in proportion to the diffusion of *sound scriptural knowledge* will the spell be broken, and the enchantment be dissolved. Idolatry, indeed, may be said to be entirely abolished. So little reverence do former deities now inspire that a short time since the author found an idol on the public road. The appearance of such an object three years ago, in such a place, would have created the utmost terror and alarm throughout the neighbourhood, but it was now either passed by entirely unheeded, or elicited only contempt or sallies of wit from the beholders.‡

Instead of the public carnivals and the riotous and obscene processions in the streets once so common on the Sabbath, that sacred day may now be said to be generally hallowed. The Sunday markets

* Psalm xviii., 43, 44.

† Acts xix., 20.

‡ A black female, after eyeing it intently, thus soliloquized:—"Ah, poor boy, dat de way dem sarve you no? Trow you way now dem no afraid for you again? What make you no trouble dem now like a bellow time? Ah! since light come we see you bin make we too much fool, poor ting! light bad ting for you. You no get notin for nyam (eat) now."

are universally abolished, and the appropriate duties and engagements of the Sabbath are more extensively and properly observed than even in England. From the earliest dawn thousands, both young and old, clothed in clean and neat apparel, are seen thronging the streets and roads to and from the house of God and the Sabbath-schools. Such a scene would be delightful under any circumstances, but the more so from the perfect contrast it presents to those so lately witnessed. The throngs which sometimes issue from some of the larger places of worship in the towns are so great as to render the streets in their neighbourhood almost impassable. The whole population, both of the town and suburbs, seems to be in motion, and when going in one direction, resembles a torrent carrying every thing before it; those who are married exhibiting the truly civilized and social spectacle of walking arm in arm;—a fact, the narration of which, though in England it may excite a smile, is here noticed on account of its comparative novelty among a people who were lately sunk in the lowest depths of degradation and sin. Such a transformation in the manners and appearance of the people could, a few years ago, scarcely have been imagined by any one acquainted with the then existing state of society.

The number of *places of worship* is greatly multiplied. There are now, as nearly as can be calculated, upwards of fifty regular churches and chapels of ease; about eleven Moravian chapels; two large chapels of the Church of Scotland; twelve in connexion with the Scottish Missionary Society; eleven belonging to the London Society; four or five in connexion with American Congregationalists; eight or nine with native Baptists; seven or eight with the Church Missionary Society; upwards of fifty with the Wesleyan; seven or eight with the Wesleyan Association; and about sixty with the Baptist Missionary Society: making a total of two hundred and twenty-six regular places of worship. Besides these, connected chiefly with the Baptist denomination, are subordinate stations at which divine worship is regularly performed in private houses, in temporary places erected for the purpose, or in negro huts, not to mention the frequency with which service is conducted out of doors, beneath the shade of trees and in tempo-

rary sheds. The whole number of places at which the Gospel is occasionally or more regularly preached by regular ministers cannot, on the lowest calculation, be estimated at less than three hundred.

Not only has religion found its way into almost every town and village of importance in the island, but, in a greater or less degree, into the majority of the *estates* and other *larger properties*. As soon as its sacred influence begins to be felt on a property or in a new township, the first work of the converts is to add to their clusters of cottages a house for God. This is done not merely for their own spiritual advantage, but with an especial reference to that of their neighbours and friends. Some of these houses will hold from one hundred and fifty to two and three hundred individuals, and are fitted up with benches and other conveniences similar to regular places of worship. Here an individual of their own colour, duly authorized by the minister to whose church he belongs (and who, since the abolition of slavery, often visits them himself), holds a prayer or class meeting two or three times in the week, and addresses the assembly in the best manner he is able on the things which belong to their peace. In numerous instances, the "praying people" in a particular locality, regarding themselves as one family, flock to these places every morning and evening of the week for domestic devotion. Here they are heard often before the dawn of day and at the latest hour preceding their repose, pouring out their earnest and artless supplications at the throne of grace for strength to enable them to maintain their Christian course. There is scarcely an evening in the week but the song of praise and the voice of prayer, mingling with the same incense from many a family altar and many a secluded closet, is thus arising to heaven from all parts of the land.

"The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other—and the mountain-tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy."

From this description it will be easily conceived that the attendance at all places of worship favoured with an evangelical ministry is astonishingly *great*. The exclamation of the prophet, when wrapt in visions of future days, is here actually realized—"Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows?"

On Sabbath days most of the churches and chapels, thus privileged, are filled with pious and attentive worshippers. Some of these places, though calculated to hold from one thousand to four thousand hearers, are often crowded. At all the other public means of grace, such as prayer-meetings, and week evening lectures, the same interesting appearances in a corresponding proportion present themselves; to say nothing of those which refer less directly to the great objects of the Christian ministry, such as Church, Bible Class, leaders' meetings, singing, Sunday-school teachers, and Missionary meetings. Some general idea of the attendance on these occasions may be formed from a jubilee meeting lately held at Kettering, in Jamaica, and which is thus described in the "Baptist Herald:"—"We have this week to record one of the most delightful seasons of joy it has ever been our happiness to witness,—the Jubilee of the Baptist Missionary Society, held at Kettering, in this parish. The vast numbers who attended appear universally to have participated in the pleasures of the day, and we have reason to believe that lasting impressions of good will be the result. When the living mass arose to hymn the praises of the Eternal, the scene was overpowering. The booth, which contained 30,000 superficial feet, being 200 feet long by 150 broad, was literally crammed, and had in it nearly nine thousand persons; sixteen hundred children passed through one of the avenues, singing sweetly, and were at the same time addressed in another part of the village, and a congregation of full two thousand were assembled to hear the truths of the Gospel in another; so that, excluding the number who were yet in the village of Duncan, there were *thirteen thousand* listening to the deeply interesting details of the mission."

The Baptist congregation at Spanish Town, one of the largest connected with Missionary Societies in Jamaica, averages on a Sabbath day two thousand hearers. A prayer-meeting, which has been held for a number of years between the hours of five and six o'clock on the Sabbath morning, has averaged five hundred attendants; as also the Monday evening prayer-meeting and the Thursday evening lecture. The number at Falmouth, under the pastoral care of the Rev. William Knibb, may

be said to average two thousand on the Sabbath. At Montego Bay the congregation, recently under the care of the Rev. Thomas Burchell, is said to average on a Sabbath day about two thousand two hundred hearers. Occasionally one thousand people have been known to have been present at these places at an early Sabbath morning prayer-meeting. The usual attendance at East Queen Street, in Kingston, under the pastoral oversight of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, is estimated at two thousand five hundred, and seven hundred are present at the week-day evening services. Equal numbers are supposed to be in regular attendance at two of the Wesleyan chapels in Kingston, under the superintendence of the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson, chairman of the district. These places of worship, which will contain from two thousand five hundred to three thousand five hundred persons each, are often, during the ordinary ministrations of the Gospel, crowded to excess; whilst on particular occasions, such as Missionary or Anti-Slavery Meetings, hundreds have been unable to find admission. In several of the country districts the congregations belonging to different religious bodies are equally flourishing, and some of them almost as large as those previously described. Among the most pleasing circumstances connected with this spirit of hearing is the fact that prayer-meetings are generally well attended, and are not only in many cases the most interesting, but frequently have they been found the most profitable, of all the public means of grace.

Instead of there being, as stated by the historian,* Francis Hanson, in 1805, no "sectarian parsons" on the island, there are now about 120, exclusive of native assistants and catechists (amounting probably to an equal number), who are employed on the Sabbath in carrying on Divine worship at subordinate stations. Wesleyan missionaries, 31; Moravians, 12; Presbyterians, 12; London Missionaries, 11; Congregationalists from America, 5; Native Baptists, 14; Baptist Missionaries, 31. Total 116. The following statement exhibits the progressive increase of ministers of all denominations during a period of ten years, ending in 1841. In 1831

* Vide, p. 227.

the number of ministers connected with the Church of England was 52; of Presbyterians, 4; of Wesleyan Methodists, 16; of Baptist Missionaries, 16; of Moravian Missionaries, 8: total, 96. In 1841, ministers of the above denominations were, of the Church of England, 74; Presbyterians, 13; Wesleyan Methodists, 29; Baptist Missionaries, 27; Moravian Missionaries, 12: total, 155. In addition to these there are the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, ministers of the Wesleyan Missionary Association, and American Congregationalists, who have commenced operations since the first-mentioned period.

SECTION III.—As an additional evidence of the religious transformation which has taken place in this part of the missionary field, let us contemplate the numbers that have been hopefully converted to God since the introduction of the Gospel, together with the multitudes who are just awakened to a concern about their souls, and the change will appear still more surprising and glorious.

In 1842 not less than 23,000 negroes and their descendants are reported as being united in Christian fellowship with the Wesleyans. In the absence of express data on which to ground an accurate calculation with respect to some of the denominations, it may be said that about 5000 are connected with the Moravians, 7000 with the Scottish Missionary Society, about 2000 with the London Missionary Society, 1000 with the American Congregationalists, 4000 with the Wesleyan Methodist Association, and 30,000 with the Baptist Missionary Society, making an aggregate of 72,000 souls, exclusive of those connected with the Church Missionary Society, and such as are under the care of evangelical clergymen, which will increase the gross amount of real converts to upwards of 100,000, fully one-third of the entire black population of the island. But, in addition to these, let the multitudes that have died since the commencement of missionary operations be taken into the calculation, and estimating the number at the rate of 25 per cent., making allowance for the great mortality of the slave population, and the number cannot be less than 50,000, thus making the grand total of 150,000 souls hopefully turned from the

power of Satan unto God, chiefly within the short period of thirty years.

Connected with most of the denominations are persons called respectively inquirers, probationers, and catechumens, most of whom are considered to afford pleasing indications of piety. The number of probationers attached to the Wesleyan denomination may be estimated at 2000; the Moravians, about 2000; Scottish Missionary Society, 2000; the London Missionary Society, 2000; the American Congregationalists, 1000; the Wesleyan Association, 2000; the Church of England and Church Missionary Society, 5000; the Baptists, 21,111, which, with those of other denominations, will make about 50,000. Thus it will be found that the grand total of professing Christians connected with the different denominations in Jamaica, since the commencement of missionary efforts to the present time, is about 200,000 souls.

Surely at such a recital every pious and benevolent heart must leap for joy, and exclaim with adoring gratitude, "What hath God wrought!" 200,000 souls converted from heathenism and savage darkness to the only true and living God! 200,000 brands plucked from the fire, and multitudes more inquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward! Then think of the value of one soul—

"Behold the midnight glory, worlds on worlds,
Amazing pomp! Redouble this amaze—
Ten thousand add, add twice ten thousand more,
Then weigh the whole; one soul outweighs them all,
And calls the astonishing magnificence
Of unintelligent creation poor."

"Such," says a pious writer, "is the importance of one soul, that its salvation, were it the only result of all the Bible, Missionary, Tract, and other religious Societies in the world, all their money, time, labours, prayers, and anxieties, would be well repaid. Nay, had all the combined efforts of these societies been useless up to this hour, still God would approve their aim."

"Who that has right feelings," says Mr. Candler, "can be but thankful for what he sees and witnesses in this interesting land? A people lately dark, superstitious, and ignorant, coming by degrees to the knowledge of the truth, glad to receive religious instruction, and giving proof of their improved habits and conduct, that

the Lord, by his good Spirit, is himself their teacher."

The testimony of Joseph J. Gurney, Esq., to the same important fact, is still more explicit and pertinent. Having adverted to other great improvements that were apparent, he continues:—"But while these points are confessedly of high importance, there is another which at once embraces and outweighs them all—I mean the diffusion of vital Christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained, especially in this country, lest, on the cessation of slavery, the negroes should break away at once from their masters and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have, in many cases, been more than doubled—above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness in many places has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose;' 'instead of the thorn,' *has* 'come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar, *has* come up the myrtle-tree;' and it shall be to the *Lord* for a name—for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."

In another part of his journal Mr. Candler remarks, "The Baptists are more numerous as a religious body than any other, and have by far the greatest influence over the minds of the people in matters of every kind. There are twenty* Baptist missionaries here, having among them seventy-three congregational stations, which, from the great distance some of them lie from each other, considered individually, cannot receive 'a pastor's Sabbath-care' more than once in three weeks. Public worship is kept up, however, at most of these stations; and when the stated minister is absent, the schoolmaster officiates, or the leaders hold what they call a prayer-meeting. Attached to these stations are 21,777 church members, and 21,111 inquirers who are seeking admission to

membership; they have also 9159 recorded Sabbath-scholars; their numbers, added together, amounting in all to 52,047, show us the number of what may be termed the more constant attenders of Baptist chapels; but if we include others belonging to the religious body who do attend, and the aged, the sick, and children who do not attend, we shall swell the number to perhaps 100,000, or a fourth part of the whole population. Several of these congregations are very large, filling chapels that hold 2000, 3000, and even 4000 people. It will be seen how impossible it is for the missionaries, under these circumstances, to exercise anything like pastoral family oversight, or to know much of the individuals who place themselves under their care: this deficiency the Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists endeavour to supply by class leaders. The denomination called Native Baptists are under the teaching of black and coloured men, who were once leaders in other congregations, but have broken off and set up as ministers for themselves. Their number is said to be 8000, assembling at twenty-five different stations, the ministers fourteen. The Wesleyan Methodists have among them thirty-one missionaries, a large number of stations, 23,822 members and probationers, and 2664 Sabbath scholars; their total numbers may be supposed to comprise 40,000 people; and if we add the late seceding missionaries and their congregations, which already comprise about 4000 actual members, we may consider the Methodist body to be 50,000. The Moravian missionaries are ten, each attached to a separate congregation of, perhaps, on an average, 700 people, but I should hardly think so many: take their number at 7000. The Presbyterian missionaries are ten, with six catechists and teachers; each missionary, as in the case of the Moravians, having, with but little exception, a separate station of ministerial labour: the number belonging to this class I would estimate at 7000. The London Missionary Society has eight missionaries, superintending twelve congregations, none of them very large: their number is probably about 8000. The Oberlin Institute furnishes five missionaries, who have, perhaps, 3000 people; making the Independents, or Congregationalists altogether about 11,000. The Church of Scotland has two large chapels, one at Kingston, the

* See Note, p. 112.

other at Falmouth, with, perhaps, 2000 members.

"We have thus a total of 185,000 dissenters from the Established Church in Jamaica, who may be said to be living under some religious care; the remainder of the people, amounting to 220,000, either belong to no religious denomination whatever, and attend no place of public worship, or rank as belonging to the Establishment. The Church Missionary Society has eight missionaries here, eleven catechists who are schoolmasters, and six assistant teachers. Allow this body of religious instructors 4000, or perhaps we may say 6000, and the fifty Episcopal churches and chapels 800 each on the average, we give the Church of England 46,000 members. The Jews are 5000, and the Roman Catholics 1000. Let us recapitulate:—Baptists, 108,000; Methodists, 50,000; Moravians, 7000; Presbyterians, 7000; Congregationalists, 11,000; Established Church, 46,000; Jews, 5000; Roman Catholics, 1000—total, 237,000; leaving a population of at least 163,000 who have neither schools nor religious instruction of any kind."*

From these statements it will appear that many individual churches are very large compared with churches in England. The most numerous are among the Wesleyans and Baptists, and are found in the principal towns. The number of Wesleyan communicants, meeting in their chapel at Montego Bay, is (as given in their report for 1842) 1255; of Baptists, lately under the pastoral care of the Rev. Thomas Burchell, 1657; the number in church fellowship at the Wesleyan chapel at Falmouth is 1983; that of the Baptist chapel, 1894. The total number of members in society among the Wesleyans, meeting in their chapel in Spanish Town, is about 1884; the Baptist church at the same place contains 2680. The church meeting at Coke Chapel, Kingston (Wesleyan), contains 5149 members; the Baptist church East Queen Street, in the same city, 3959; and so on in proportion throughout all the stations in the island.

Among the Wesleyans and other denominations, applicants for church-fellow-

ship are usually received individually as they offer themselves, or are found to possess the requisite qualifications. Among the Baptists, although each individual previously undergoes a rigid examination, members are often added by 100 and upwards at one time. In some cases 200 persons have been added to a single church in one day; 400 were once added in one year to the church at Spanish Town; and at Brown's Town and Bethany, in St. Anne's, as many as 700 and upwards were baptized and received into fellowship during the same space of time. In some of the larger churches the additions have averaged 200 each for several years past. The clear increase of members to the Wesleyan and Moravian churches since 1823, or during the last twenty years, the writer is unable to ascertain, but the number added to the Baptist churches within that period, exclusively of decrease by exclusions and deaths, has been little short of 27,000, thus averaging, since the year 1823, a clear increase of 1350 per annum. The following table will show the progressive rate of increase since 1835, with other particulars:

Year.	Baptized.	Restored.	Excluded.	Marriages.
1835	2606	210	156	1468
1836	2950	205	213	881
1837	2120	283	296	705
1838	2874	352	267	1942
1839	3457	161	541	1614
1840	4684	420	461	1256
1841				
1842	2659	340	777	496

Nor is the cause advancing less rapidly at the present time. Never before indeed have the missionaries in Jamaica been blessed with a fairer and brighter prospect. The clear increase of the Baptist churches alone for the year just closed is 2309, and multitudes have crowded to fill up the ranks of inquirers vacated by those who had succeeded to a more close and holy fellowship. God not only seems to be going with his servants, but to have gone before them. Wherever they direct their operations they find an open door; wherever they stand up, beneath a tree, beneath a shed, in a negro hut, or in a chapel, they are sure to be surrounded by listening multitudes. A holy influence is evidently breathed upon the people, creating a hungering and thirsting after the bread and water of life, which

* This estimate was made in 1840. Many of the churches and congregations have considerably increased in number since that period. Ministers also have been multiplied.

nothing but the Spirit of God can satisfy. In every direction are the people calling for the messengers of salvation, and whenever they see them coming from afar, they seem exultingly to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings—that publisheth peace—that bringeth good tidings of good—that publisheth salvation!"

Of this general eagerness to hear the Gospel it is unnecessary to furnish more than one or two instances. The first is an application made to the author by a poor black man, on behalf of himself and others, who had been for some time deprived of the means of Christian instruction, and the other is a communication from a medical gentleman to a friend in England.

"To the Rev. Mr. Phillippo."

"3d May, 1841.

"MY DEAR MINISTER—I have now to Right, and beg you to assist us, as now we are Sheep without a Shepherd, and we will be glad to have you, my Dear Minister, to enclose us again as so much sheep that have gone astray, by having no Pastor. So by our free will we shall be much thankful to my dear minister if you will come amongst us, that we may carry on God's work once more again, and satisfy we hungry soul; and we request the chapple to be register for the Baptist Missionary Society. The name of the place is Content.

"Signed on behalf of the family,

"JOHN DUGLASS."

"During the Lord's day I spent at Sligoville, a party of people came from a distance to beg of Mr. P. to go to take possession of a chapel belonging to some Native Baptists who could not get on alone. These people, about six in number, came the Sunday previous. They had applied many times during twelve months to get Mr. P. to go, but he refused, on account of the distance and his own numerous engagements. This time they determined not to go without getting him to comply with their request. Mr. P. was from home, but here they remained until he returned, which was not until the following Sunday evening.

"He again excused himself, but they would hear nothing of it; they were sure if minister would come he would do them

good; and they sat themselves down on the grass, determined not to go till he consented. They continued urging their request until he promised to visit them. It was now Monday, and Mr. P. offered to go on the following Wednesday. They were satisfied, and the whole of them started home directly to carry the news. Mr. P. invited me to accompany him, and early on the appointed morning we set off, with another medical man, to the place called the 'Above Rocks,' in St. Thomas's in the Vale. It was a magnificent ride. It could only be accomplished on horseback, as it was in some places so steep as to require us to dismount and lead our horses, while in other parts it was a steep mountain pass about two feet wide, with a mountain on one side and a tremendous precipice on the other. We came, after a ride of twenty miles, to the district where these poor people resided, which was very populous, appearing to be estates thrown up and bought in small lots by the people. All was in beautiful cultivation; there were no signs here of the predicted barbarism; the entire valley was like a panorama.

"The ground was very undulatory, and covered as far as the eye could reach with plantains, bananas, yams, cocoa-nuts, with huts and houses. A guide met us about three miles from our destination, and at length we arrived at a hut prepared for us, the people all anxiously waiting our coming. We begged some yam, as we had come a long ride without any provisions. Three or four set to work, lighted a fire, killed a chicken, and as soon as possible brought it to table, with a plenty of cocoa, yams, plantains, and other things. A box was at the window, in which some bees were at work, and while we were looking and praising the man for his contrivance, he said he thought ministers and doctors would like some honey; so without any ceremony he took his primitive beehive into the open air, and abstracted the honey, regardless of the stings of hundreds of the bees who swarmed upon him. We finished our repast, and went to the chapel, which resembled a barn in England, with a few seats in it. Many people came, though it was in the middle of the day. A short service was held, and an arrangement made for preaching once a fortnight. The field is a very fine one for a zealous missionary, containing, it is supposed,

10,000 inhabitants. The people are literally hungering and thirsting after righteousness; they have been endeavouring to carry on the service of God among themselves because they were unable to obtain other instruction, but they have at length made an effort which will prove to their advantage."

From this wonderful concurrence of animating circumstances, and the co-operation of other favourable events, *how bright and glorious becomes the prospect of the future!* But the most interesting feature by which that prospect is distinguished, so far at least as human instrumentality is concerned, is that which regards the employment of native labourers, many of whom, possessing zeal, talent, and piety, are now rising up in our churches. Irrespective of other advantages, it is almost impossible to conceive how much such an agency will contribute to the general diffusion of knowledge and religion, especially with that training which they are about to receive in the theological institution now founded by the Baptist missionaries, in connexion with the parent society.

And not only so, but the importance of Jamaica as a field of missionary operations is not to be determined by prospects confined to its own shores. It is to be estimated by its relative and geographical position. It is to be viewed in reference to the influence it may exert on the neighbouring islands and continent. And for this purpose how commanding, and in every way how advantageous, is its situation! In the midst of the Caribbean Sea—but a few days' sail from the vast continent of South America and the confederated states of the Mexican Union on the one hand, and Cuba, Puerto Rico, St. Domingo, and the whole of the western archipelago on the other,—in the very centre of a population estimated at 20,000,000 of human beings, all literally perishing for lack of knowledge.

What may Jamaica ultimately prove to them if British Christians aid her in the enterprise? She might prove to them what Britain has been to her—a depôt of the word of life—a centre of heavenly light—the chief instrument of their political, intellectual, social, moral, and religious renovation. By what means?—By qualifying

and sending forth her own sons as missionaries.

Jamaica might indeed become spiritually what she is politically—the key-stone to the possession of the New World—a kind of rallying post for the army of the living God, in its efforts to subjugate the whole continent of South America to the "obedience of faith."

Nor do the missionaries bound their expectations with reference to the influence of Jamaica as a field of missionary triumph even by the shores of the south and the west. The day of jubilee has come, and arrangements are already made for sending back her long exiled sons to the land of their *fathers*, that they may assist in diffusing throughout the African continent the blessings of wisdom and of the "fear of the Lord."

In a word, who can tell but that by such instrumentality (for it often happens that those whom God intends to honour he usually prepares for it by severe discipline)—who can tell but that, as if in some measure compensative of her wrongs, it is not the determination of Infinite Wisdom to reserve for Africa the honour and the glory of ushering in the millennium?—"for there are first that shall be last, and there are last that shall be first."

Who can tell but that we even now behold the dawn of the coming day, when the bright "bow of Christianity, commencing in the heavens and encompassing the earth, shall include the children of every clime and colour beneath the arch of its promise and the glory of its protection?"

Inspired at the thought of such a glorious consummation, who will not supplicate, and in the devotion of his heart pray—

"O thou who in ancient times didst send forth thy Seraphim to touch as with a live coal from thine altar thine own consecrated prophet to perfect and purify him for his high mission, send down upon us all thy heavenly influence—baptize us with the Holy Ghost, that thy ministers may be as flames of fire—that thy churches may catch the missionary flame—that it may burn till the whole earth shall reflect its splendour, and with all her melody of tongues proclaim the Tabernacle of God is with Men!"

CHAPTER XVI.

RELIGIOUS STATE, *continued.*

SECT. I.—Presumptive Evidences of the actual Piety of Jamaica Churches—Character of the Missionaries—Nature and Extent of Scriptural Knowledge possessed by Candidates for Church-fellowship—By Members in general—Manner of Admitting Members—Great Christian Principle and Feeling manifested by them.

SECT. II.—Description of Inquirers and Catechumens—Nature and Objects of their Connexion with the different Denominations—Usual Term of Probation among Baptists for Church-fellowship—Average Number of Exclusions—Intimate Knowledge possessed by Ministers of the State of their Churches—Discipline, Faithfulness, and Impartiality of its Administration—Christian Consistency of Members—Testimonies—Investigation of Cases of alleged Delinquency—Church Meetings—Members' Knowledge of Scriptural Discipline—Distinguished Prevalence of a Spirit of Prayer—Piety and Fervour of Social Exercises.

SECT. III.—Sacrifices made by Members, of Time, Comfort, Property, and Freedom—Persecution—Martyrdom—Spirit exemplified under these circumstances.

SECT. IV.—Love of Converts towards each other—How displayed—Charity of the Treatment of Offences—Attention to Poor and Afflicted—Mutual esteem—Love for the Service of God's House—Attendance on the Means of Grace—Regard for the Interests of Zion generally—Attachment to their Ministers—Astonishing changes in Individual Character.

SECT. V.—Zeal of Jamaica Christians—Their Liberality—Their great Personal and Individual Exertions—Class and Ticket System—Its operation in Furtherance of the Gospel—Great Self-devotion of many of the Members of the Churches—Astonishing Effects produced by their Individual Labours.

SECT. VI.—Experience and Conduct of Members in general in seasons of calamity—On Beds of Sickness and Death—Their anxious Concern for the Welfare of the Churches to which they belong, and for the general Interests of Religion—Numerous Instances of Happy and Triumphant Deaths of Adults and Sunday-School Children.

SECTION I.—Unaccustomed, as the Church has been, to such enlarged success, it is not surprising that doubts should have arisen whether the numbers thus represented as united to Christ and to his people were *really* the subjects of *converting grace*. As it is not the prerogative of missionaries, any more than that of other men, to know the heart, it would be impossible to return a decided answer in the affirmative. They can only express a hope that the Christian public will give them credit for being what they profess to be—"Men of God." "Anxious to save themselves and those that hear them, in all things endeavouring to show themselves patterns of good works; in doctrine,

showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned." Aware of the awful responsibilities of their office, and anxious, as their highest aim, to promote the glory of their God and Saviour, they trust that they would rather spend their days in sowing the seed of the Divine word, uncheered by the sight of a single blade, than crowd the field with noxious tares: the more so as, independently of the higher concerns of the soul, they will be, to a considerable degree, answerable for all the reproach which unworthy converts might bring upon the Redeemer's name. Under such circumstances, and in the prospect of that day when they shall have to give an account of their stewardship to their great Lord and Master (a period that often appears before them in all its awful solemnity and importance), it is not too much to ask to be believed when they affirm, that they have received none into communion with the churches of which they have had the oversight but those whom they had reason to hope were "approved of Christ;" nor retained any in connexion with them who afforded evidence of inconsistent and unholy lives. The admission of members to the churches in Jamaica has, the author is persuaded, been an object of as great and unremitting care to missionaries of all denominations as to ministers and churches in England. Had it not been thus, he has no hesitation in asserting, especially with regard to the Baptists, that their numbers would have been more than doubled. The latter body has always connected with them a number of individuals denominated inquirers, and who have generally amounted to at least one-third of the communicants. These would have been glad to have advanced at once to the privileges of members; but have been retained as inquirers for twelve months or upwards, to afford evidence of a spiritual change by their daily walk and conversation. There are, however, certain presumptive evidences of piety by which we may judge of the validity of a Christian profession, and which we hesitate not to apply to the Christians of Jamaica.

The most untutored of those who have enjoyed the advantages of Christian instruction for any length of time, have a correct, if not an extensive, knowledge of the great and essential doctrines of the

Gospel—of the proper Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—the depravity of human nature—the plan of salvation, and the necessity of Divine influence to regenerate the heart: indeed, the knowledge of these fundamental truths is absolutely necessary to admission into the churches. In districts where the Gospel has been long and faithfully preached, the greater part of the candidates, to a greater or less degree, have a tolerably correct idea of the nature and attributes of God, and of the doctrines and duties of Christianity in general. The truth of these assertions the following dialogues and anecdotes, in addition to numbers of a similar kind that have been already before the public in missionary periodicals, will sufficiently attest. The replies given by one of the middle-class of country people at a church-meeting at Spanish Town may be regarded as a fair specimen of the knowledge and experience of the peasantry in general throughout the district. According to constant practice, the individual was interrogated by the pastor of the church and members indiscriminately, who were assembled at a church meeting:—

Minister. Well, Thomas, do you know who Jesus Christ is?

Candidate. Him de Son of God, minister.

M. What did Jesus Christ come into the world to do?

C. Him come to save poor sinners.

M. Do you think he is *able* to save sinners.

C. Me *know* him able.

M. How can you know that he is able to save them?

C. Because him make de world: and if him make de world, him able to do all tings: and minister no tell we often-time dis make him left him fader trone, and come into dis sinful world.

M. What is it necessary for us to know and feel before we can love and serve God as we ought?

C. We must know and feel truly dat me is great sinner—never do one ting good since me born—before me can sarve God in a right manner.

M. God's holy word says—"Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." What is meant by being born again?

C. It mean a new heart, minister.

M. Do you think you have got a new heart?

C. Me hope so.

M. What makes you think you have?

C. Because what me bin love before, me hate now; and what me hate before, me love now. Once me love to do devil's work—blaspheme, carouse, and do all wicked ting: now me love precious Massa Jesus, who pill him precious blood for me, poo dyin' sinner.

M. How was it that you came to give up your wicked ways?

C. Me heary minister preach sometime, and me tink some person tell minister false upon me, and me get vex; bine by, sick take me, and broder and sister come talk to me, and pray for me, and make me promise, if God so good, make me raise up again, me give up me heart to precious Massa Jesus; den me tink upon what minister and broder and sister say, and beg God to have mercy on me poor soul.

M. Are you ever tempted to turn back again into the world?

C. Massa, debil too busy: him some time full up my heart wid all bad thought; him no lub for see poor somebody like a me sarve Massa Jesus good, none at all.

M. But when you are tempted to forsake Christ by turning back again into the world, what do you do?

C. Minister, me heart run to precious Massa Jesus, like piccanniny run to him mamma before time in a Africa, when white man come make we slave.

M. Then you would not like to forsake your Lord and Saviour?

C. O me, minister! If me turn from me blessed Jesus, den where me go?—(looking up to heaven, and the tears filling his eyes, he exclaimed, with all the energy he could summon, for tears had almost choked his utterance)—forsake me precious Massa Jesus! no, no; me pray him make me *dead* first! Turn from Massa Jesus! No; him too good to me poo' sinner. Me only 'fraid precious blessed Jesus turn away from me! But him promise; and me hold upon de promise.

M. What makes you wish to be baptized?

C. Because Jesus Christ, put under the water, rise up again, and me wish to pattern after him.

M. Perhaps you think the water will wash away your sin?

C. No, no; water no wash away me sin: nothin' but precious Massa Jesus blood wash away me sin?

M. Why do you wish to partake of the sacrament?

C. Because me heart crave much to member Massa Jesus, like me broder and sister, how him dead and pill him blood for we. While me tan so,—look upon me broder and sister when dem setten down take de supper, me heart fret; me seems like me tranger, no belong to God family like a dem.

M. You don't think you will have nothing more to do, and that the devil will not tempt you any more, if you should be received into the church?

C. No, me sweet minister. Devil and me own heart strive more against me den, because dem much vex me make de world know me no belong to dem again.

Questions by two or three of the members:—

Mem. Well, my friend, me hear what answer you give to minister; but make me ax you one or two question. Who you say Jesus Christ is, and what him come into this world to do?

A. Jesus Christ is God's son. Him come into de world to save sinners.

Q. Who is the Holy Spirit, and what does the Holy Spirit do for you?

A. The Holy Spirit is God too; and him change me sinful heart, make me fit for heaven.

Q. Is there more than one God?

A. No; three persons and one God.

Q. Who are they?

A. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Q. What is your greatest enemy?

A. Me own heart.

Q. What do you mean to do with your heart?

A. Keep on pray to God to soften it.

Another. You say you began to think about your soul, and cry to God when you sick: suppose you had died in your sin, what would have become of you?

A. If me dead in me sin, me gone to hell.

Third. You know, broder, I know you long time; know you to bin before time very passionate, and if any person do any ting to you, you begin to fight and blaspheme. Suppose any one know you to come to the Gospel, try to vex and strike you, what you do?

A. Me do so (putting his hands behind him), and me look up, pray to God to make me forgive him and to change him heart, make him love God too.

Another. Suppose any one should offer you a great sum of money to forsake Christ, would you do it?

C. No; me love Massa Jesus more: what money can do for me when me heart grieve? when me sick, and when me dead? God book say, "What profit a man have if him gain de world and lose him own soul."

This candidate having withdrawn, inquiries were made of the friends present who resided near him, as to his walk and conversation, since he had become an inquirer; the answers to which being deemed satisfactory, a few more questions were put to him, as to his willingness to conform to the rules of the church, should he be received as a member, together with a statement of the duties he would be expected to discharge towards the cause of Christ in general; after which the minister signified his approval of him, on behalf of the church. From that time to the present, embracing a period of two years, his conduct has been that of a pious and devoted follower of Christ.

The following is an extract of a letter addressed to the author, by a pious lady, the wife of a captain in the army. The individual whose Christian experience it records is a respectable female of colour, who has been for many years the leader of a class of females connected with the Baptist Church at Spanish Town,—an office filled by others equally enlightened and devoted—and has been a most valuable helper in that capacity in the work of God. As this will give an idea of the character and qualifications of some of our leaders or helpers, no apology perhaps will be deemed necessary for its insertion:

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I feel most anxious to communicate my thoughts to you on a subject that I know is both near and dear to your heart—I mean the conversion of a sinner. I refer to Miss —, who has given me an account of the Lord's merciful dealings with her, which I here subjoin. After stating the circumstances which led to her first attending upon the means of grace, this new trophy of redeeming love thus continues her narrative

to me:—‘I went to chapel again on the following Sabbath; the text was from the 22d chapter of St. Matthew, our Lord’s parable of the marriage of the king’s son. And when the minister explained to us who they were who would not go to the marriage feast, and what kind of a character the man was “who had not on a wedding garment,” I said to myself, this is exactly my state: do I not content myself with the form of religion, without the power of divine grace on my soul? Alas! what do I know of true holiness? I am as ignorant as the beast that perisheth: and he appeared so perfectly to describe my state that I went home quite miserable. I went to bed, but could not sleep; I felt myself a condemned sinner, and the more I looked back on my past life the more I saw my sinfulness and vileness. I continued in this unhappy state till Sunday. I went again to chapel. The minister preached from the 125th Psalm, which appeared to lay my heart quite bare before my eyes, and let me see my every secret sin; but he led me to the Saviour, and a hope sprang up in my mind that Jesus would be also *my Saviour*. He referred us to different chapters in the Bible, which he advised us to read on our return home, and judge for ourselves. I did as he desired, and a peace took possession of my mind that I had never experienced before. I went on my knees to pray, and I felt a hope that God was reconciled to me through Christ, and that same blessed hope has never since forsaken me. I feel my ignorance very much, never having mixed with any religious people; but I now read my Bible every day, with prayer, and I feel already increasing in knowledge, that I hope I may soon be able to instruct others. O! that I could do any thing to glorify God! You know not how it pains me when I look back on my past life, and see how I have dishonoured so kind, such a long-suffering and merciful Lord God! I am grieved and shocked at my ingratitude; but I trust the remainder of my life will be spent differently—indeed I wish to be led by the spirit of God, as a child by its mother: when I hear so many of the poor blacks pray in chapel so sweetly, I feel quite ashamed of myself. My friends and old acquaintances often ask me what has happened to me, if I have been sick or from home? I am afraid to go near them, lest

they should draw me aside. I only now mix with God’s people, to try to improve in the knowledge of God; for what would it profit me if I gained the whole world and was to lose my own soul?—but I would not turn back for the world. No: ten thousand worlds would be a poor compensation for the loss of my immortal soul! And I feel more real happiness now than I ever did in my life.’

“Such is the substance of —’s interesting conversation with me; and as I know it would afford you a subject for thankfulness to the triune God, I have thought it right to tell you of it, as a means of strengthening your hands, and encouraging your heart. And that the Lord may give you many more souls for your hire is the earnest prayer of,

“Your affectionate friend in the best of bonds,

“B. T——.”

The following conversation is of a different kind, though in some respects of equal value and importance. It took place some time since between an aged deacon of the church at Spanish Town, the owner of a small coffee plantation, and an overseer on one of the estates, and was related to the author on the following day. The estate had for many years been the scene of this good man’s pious and useful labours. Going past the residence of the overseer, who was entertaining a number of his companions, on a particular occasion, he was requested to enter the room where all were assembled, and was thus accosted:—

Overseer. Well, sir, I am told you are a preacher?

Deacon. I hope I am a praying man, sir; perhaps that is what you mean: as white people often call praying preaching.

O. No; I mean that you take a book and preach to the people out of it.

D. How can I preach from a book when I don’t able to read? Massa tink me don’t know better than to make fool of meself, take a book and preach, when all de people too know me can’t read?

O. Well; I don’t know what you call it. Don’t you say prayers to the people, or talk to them, or something?

D. Yes; I talk to my neighbour and friend, truly, and I am not ashamed of it neider. Religion do good to *me*, make *me*

happy ; and I wants my fellow-creature to feel happy too.

O. Well, then, you are a preacher.

D. Massa can call me what him like ; me satisfy ; but me mouth cant shut ; me must pray and talk for God as long as me have breath.

O. Oh, I see : perhaps you could preach to us, although you don't know a letter of the book. Who betrayed Jesus Christ ?—for, as you are a preacher, you must know—(jestingly).

D. Judas betrayed the Lord Jesus Christ for thirty pieces of silver.

O. Oh, I didn't know that you knew. Well, but whose wife did David take away ?

D. Uriah wife, Bersheba.

O. Where did Uriah find his wife ?

D. In David's house.

O. How can that be, when Uriah was slain ?

D. Beg massa pardon, but Uriah was not slain till David put him to the fore front of the battle.

O. Was David a good man ?

D. Yes ; a man after God's own heart.

O. What ! after he committed murder ? Then that shows that God approved of what David did ; and your parsons are always sending people to —, who don't do half what he did.

D. Ah, massa ! you read God's word and believe that ? When David sin, him fall ; and when him once fall, him do but anything ; but though God love David, him dont love David's sin. Massa say him read de Bible. Suppose massa look into de Bible now, him find God so angry wid David, because him sin, dat he sent to know de tree ting him will choose, and den allow him son to drive him from de trone.

* * * * *

O. I see very well that you are a preacher, and I must say, I did not think you knew so much ; but you had better not fill the people's heads with these things ; they begin to know too much already.

D. Massa, God's word is good, and I bin say to massa before time me must tell me fellow-creatur what good religion done for me ; for if it good for me it good for dem, and God's word say me must not let me broder and sister alone, but must try and bring dem all to Jesus Christ, dat dem blood no rest upon me head in the last day.

Observes a missionary, writing to the author during the insurrection in 1832, " Our poor people are very much annoyed by the officers of militia. The following is a conversation which passed between one of them and a member of our church, a sergeant in the regiment :

Officer. So you are a praying man ; when we go on detachment I will put you in the front ; I will take care of you.

Native. I may be as well off in the front as in the rear, sir.

O. Well, I tell you beforehand, I will take you to blow all these ministers' brains out.

N. Are de minister guilty, den, sir ?

O. To be sure they are.

N. Don't de law of we country say every man is innocent until him found guilty ? If dem try and condemn already, den it will be time enough to blow dem brain out. You prosecute we minister too much because you don't like we to get no larnin.

O. Oh, oh ! But, as an honest man, answer me one question. Don't these ministers teach the people to rob their owners in order to give to them ? Answer me at once.

N. No, sir. If dem did, we should know it not right, and would have nothing to do with them. Don't I and plenty more have sarvant weself ? should we uphold minister tellen de people to rob dem master ?

O. But as you are a leader, don't you get money for preaching ?

N. No, I do not, sir.

O. Then you have a better heart than I have ; but why do you teach the people ?

N. Because it is my duty.

O. Well, I will never believe you would labour with the people without you got something by it.

N. If massa help a poor person horse out a gully (*ditch*) when him fall in, and like to drown, would massa want pay for it ? An' don't man worth more dan a beast ?

O. But what makes you pray ?

N. Because I am a sinner.

O. I suppose you found that out when you were converted.

N. I was convinced before I was converted, sir, and then I prayed to God.

O. What do you mean by sin ?

N. There is two kinds of sin,—original sin and actual sin. I mean, I myself have

broken God's laws, and derefore I pray to God for forgiveness through Jesus Christ.

O. What do you mean by original sin?

N. The sin of our first parents. But please to let me ask if you don't pray to God?

O. Yes; but you pray too much.

N. No; God tell we to pray always and not to faint. But please let me ask you another question. Don't you call God your father in the Prayer Book? What ungrateful children we be if we don't obey our Father's command; an if we acknowledge Him to be our King how shameful not to be loyal to him. But I can account for it.

O. How? how?

N. Because de scripture say de carnal mind is enmity against God, not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. And if de spirit of God don't teach we, we is dark and ignorant people, dow we know plenty a tings else.

O. What do you mean by the Spirit? the spirit of rum?

N. O fie, sir. You call yourself a Christian, and make a mock at spiritual tings?

O. What else do you mean by the *spirit*? did you ever see it?

N. It is felt, sir, but not seen.

O. How do you know if there is such a thing if you never saw it?

N. Don't you say, sir, dat a man have a good spirit if him do anyting wordy of praise, but you never see dat spirit? You believe you have souls, but you never see dat soul. An', sir, would a blind man say him wouldn't eat because him don't able to see de vittel?"

After a few questions more, which are too indecent to meet the public eye, the correspondent adds, "thus ends the conversation. I have sent it to you as the poor man related it to me, not doubting but it would be interesting to you to know the manner in which our poor Christian blacks are enabled to stand their ground before their accusers."

I felt much happiness, said the late excellent Missionary, Mr. Coultart, in hearing the simple narratives of the people. One of them, a woman, said, "Ah, massa, me tongue so guilty, all bad word, me no ready to peak good in same mout; me great sinner, and never tink bout anyting good till me hear a broder read; if me no

born again me no see kingdom of God. Me don't know what dis *born again* mean—it trouble me much,—it no let me rest,—none at all. Next night broder come read again; de word trouble me more and more; me no eat, no shut me eye, fear me open it in hell. Next day me send for de broder to come wid de book; him come and read; de book no tell me trouble any more; him tell me Jesus came to save sinner, great sinner, no matter how great, so me go to him; him forgive all:—not for me goodness, but for him own goodness,—den me weep much, for Jesus Christ so good; me no able to do nothing for long time, but tell of him kindness to poor me." When another first went to work on the estate to which she belonged, her owner asked her if she prayed? "Yes," was her reply. "O, that is bad," he said; "you will spoil all my negroes. Your religion is a nasty thing, you must not spread it here!" "O, massa," she replied, "religion no a bad ting; if your negro love God in him heart, him find someting else to do than tief (steal) your fowl and your sugar; *religion a good ting when neger heb plenty of it.*"

I asked a female negro whether she felt any sin now her heart was changed. Her reply was, "it trouble me too much—it tick to me, massa, as close as de clothes to me back." To another poor woman who was complaining much of the discouragements she met with, I said, "Well, how do you hope to get through them all to heaven? You say you are weak." "Yes, me weak for true, massa; but me hang on him arm. Jesus can help—an', massa, him promise."

A letter from a missionary contains the following pleasing anecdote:—

"Three nights ago, a man of decent appearance came to relate what he thought of himself and of the Saviour; said he had been living for himself, and 'neider did know or think anything about God.' The greatest part of his time he had lived in Kingston, and, changing masters frequently, he had, as is the custom in this colony, changed his old name with his master, the last of whom wished him to become a Christian. He asked a friend who belonged to the Baptists to *stand* for him, but he refused, and asked him to think what sort of a Christian man could make him: 'As for him, he no know man's Christian, him only know Christian God make.'

This puzzled the poor man, who thought something in *right Christian* 'him no know; him made a Christian, but him still go on in him old way, for him no know him doing wrong.' Here I interrupted him to learn the force of conscience, in the way Paul states it with regard to the heathen. I said, 'James, you say you did not know God; you no hear anything about him. When you do sin, you no know it sin? Conscience within no tell you dat bad; God angry for dat?' He said, 'Yes, conscience tell me, and trouble me much; but nevertheless me no heed conscience much.' William, the friend—the faithful friend—as he termed him, 'courted him to a little prayer-meeting conducted by themselves, *and dere God catch him poor run away!* He see Jesus love him, poor ting, an' him want to love Jesus, and keep his commands.' I asked him who persuaded him to be baptized? 'William make him hear what Jesus say, Believe and be baptize. Now him believe Jesus to be the Son of God, and only Saviour, and him wish to gie himself quite up to Jesus, an' take Jesus for him tick (staff) to lean upon till him last day on earth.'"

In further illustration of the sound scriptural knowledge possessed by members of Christian churches in Jamaica, and as a proof that their thinking powers are deeply exercised on these all-engrossing subjects, it may be stated that applications are frequently made by individual members for the meaning of particular passages of scripture, which have created discussion in their social meetings or public places of business. Nor is it unusual for the people to request their ministers to preach on some particular subjects respecting which information is extensively sought. A black female requested the author, a short time before he left the island, to preach on the unpardonable sin, saying, if minister pleased, herself and several more would like much to hear about it, as they had forgotten what minister had said about it some time ago.

Some years since, the friends at Chip-ping Norton, Oxfordshire, kindly presented to the congregation at Spanish Town, a bible and hymn books for the use of the pulpit. The subjoined letters of thanks addressed to the kind donors, by two members of the church, *leaders*, one of whom was a free woman of colour, and the other

a young man then a slave, will equally illustrate the simplicity and fervour of negro piety, as well as its evangelical character, and the degree in which it is possessed.

"MY DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—The reception of your kind and truly invaluable present is as highly estimated as the preciousness of such a gift ought to be. May the wish and power of dispensing the salutary comforts and consolations it contains be equally yours!

"Its precious contents will, I hope and doubt not, be the means of bringing home many a lost and wandering sheep in this dark land, and converting many repentant sinners to the flock of Christ. In it alone do we look for consolation from all the evils that surround us in this wicked world. There the sinner will find a pardon for his sins, which will not be sought for in vain; it will be found to speak peace to the troubled mind, consolation to the broken spirit, and blessing and happiness to the steadfast in faith, a stream of milk and honey flowing richly into every heart, which shall come to drink of its pure fount. May my humble prayer be not in vain that the number may not be few, that the sacred pages be never unclosed in vain, that its holy operation may work its way into the hearts of all men, and, finally, that the offering may bring down a blessing on the hearts that bestowed it; and accept the kind wishes of all happiness from one, who, though unknown to you, is nevertheless An humble believer,

"ANNE SIMPSON THOMAS.

"*Spanish Town, Jamaica,
July 29, 1826.*"

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—Me desire to return you our hearty and sincere tanks for de present of de books dat we have receive, and dat we hope dat de blessing of Almighty Fader may descend upon ebery ephod dat is use in promote dat course of de Gospel, and dat your prayers and our prayers may unite togeder in praising Almighty Fader for de gift of a preached Gospel, and in sending his ministers to proclaim mercy unto de heathens, and for de prosperity of our minister and his dear partner in life, dat dey may be spare, and dat der days may be prolong, and dat massa's ministerial duty may be attend to wid dat solemnity of heart and wid dat

pure affection towards God's glory, and dat many sinner may be bless wid de gift of de spirit, dat at lass both preacher and hearers may be heirs of dat mansion which our blessed Massa Jesus had gone to prepare, and dat de blessing of Almighty Fader may be sent upon us, dat we may not be weary in welldoing.

"I remain your humble servant,

"RICHARD BULLOCK.

"*Spanish Town, Jamaica,
July 28, 1826.*"

The manner of admitting members to communion is precisely the same as that practised in Baptist churches in England, and is thus described by individuals who were present on an occasion, when the qualifications of candidates for church fellowship were canvassed.

"After this conference was concluded," say Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, alluding to their interview with the officers of the church, "we had an opportunity of witnessing the examination to which the candidates for baptism are subjected. A poor old woman was the first examined. She was closely questioned by the minister, but more especially by the deacons and leaders, respecting the time and cause of her 'coming to religion,' her views in wishing to be baptized, and on the person and offices of Christ. She appeared to be a simple-hearted woman, anxious to forsake sin, and to join herself to a praying people; but her answers did not evince that clear acquaintance with the leading doctrines of Christianity which was deemed essential; *she was therefore deferred.* The next probationer, a young man, was deemed suitable to be received. Before the decision is made, the candidate is requested to withdraw, and those present who are acquainted with him give their sentiments on the correctness of his outward conduct, what change is to be observed in it, and whether he is in their opinion a converted character. If it is concluded to receive him, he is called in, and after being exhorted by the minister not to put his trust in the outward ordinance, is informed that the church has unanimously concluded to admit him as a member; and on the first convenient occasion he is baptized."^{*}

SECTION II.—It has been already stated

that there are connected with several of the denominations a considerable number of persons called inquirers—catechumens or probationers. These are generally persons who, having renounced their sinful practices, and expressed a desire to give themselves up to God, are enrolled as regular hearers, and thereby place themselves under the especial superintendence of the ministers and churches with which they have thus become connected. While one particular object of this plan is to encourage religious impressions, and to induce immediate decision in the ways of God by bringing the hopefully penitent under regular religious instruction; it, at the same time, affords an effectual security against the admission of improper characters. Hence *all*, before they are proposed as members for church fellowship, have been in the regular habit of attending the house of God, and the various private means of grace, and have also been the subjects of special "oversight in the Lord."

The term of probation, of course, varies according to circumstances, and the views of different ministers and churches. Among the Baptists it is seldom the case that an application is made for an admission to the privileges of membership until after a probation of twelve months at least—the individual having, during that time, as far as could be ascertained, led a consistent and holy life.

Some of the questions asked on such occasions, and which, if not answered satisfactorily, involve the suspension or rejection of the candidate, are such as would offend an individual under similar circumstances in England:—Are you in debt?—Are you married?—if not married, do you live with any one according to the old customs of the country?

As an evidence that missionaries are not less particular in the admission of members than their brethren in England, the writer will mention two or three cases out of many that could be selected. On Mrs. Phillippo's return to England, some years ago, for the benefit of her health, she was accompanied by a young woman, a native, who had been connected as an inquirer with the Church at Spanish Town for a period of five years. A minister in the country, having had some close religious conversation with her, was surprised

* From Sturge and Harvey's West Indies, p. 181.

that she was without the pale of the church, and proposed her being baptized without delay. Mr. and Mrs. Burchell were accompanied home by a similar individual under the same circumstances : and very soon after their temporary settlement in London, the church under the care of Mr. Upton, senior, were so satisfied with her piety that their venerable pastor baptized her. When the author was in England himself, a few years since, he was sought out by a young black man, who had made his escape from slavery : the latter had been attached to the church at Spanish Town, and, subsequently, to the church at Old Harbour, as an inquirer for years. After a private conversation with the minister and several members of the church at Eagle Street, and after an application to the writer by the venerable and zealous pastor, the Rev. Joseph Ivimey, he appeared before the church as a candidate, was unanimously accepted as a proper subject for Christian fellowship and was baptized by Mr. Overbury.

Among those even selected from the mass as giving evidence of superior piety, many are turned back ; and the principal concern of missionaries on such occasions is lest they have rejected many whom Christ has not rejected, rather than lest they should have received those whom Christ has not received. Of the former, as an error of judgment, the writer has often had painful evidence, as well as of the latter ; one instance of which he will adduce. On the morning immediately following the day on which he had administered the ordinance of baptism, he was thus accosted by his brother missionary, the Rev. J. Edmondson, the Wesleyan minister, then in Spanish Town :—" My servant is in great trouble, crying from morning till night, because you did not baptize her yesterday. She tells me she was objected to because she did not express herself clearly on some essential points ; but I can assure you, from the testimony of my predecessor, and from my own opportunities of judging, that I believe her to be a truly sincere and pious Christian. Such, indeed, is my opinion of her, that I should be glad to receive her into the church under my care."

" If the Lord should spare me until next Lord's day," said a brother missionary some years ago, " I expect to

baptize eighty persons. Of these we have good reason to hope well ; though some, after the strictest examination, deceive us. I think I do not exaggerate when I say, these have been selected from twice that number, who have, even with tears and prayers, entreated us to receive them. I often feel it painful, indeed, to refuse them immediate admission ; but we wish to have as extensive a knowledge of their characters as possible before we receive them. Some of them weep when they are told to stop a little longer, and say, ' Massa, suppose dead take me ; how me die when me know dis my duty, an me no do it ? ' I can only say, I wish them to know that it is their duty, and then I shall not object." Said another, who had just arrived on the island, alluding to a considerable number who had been recently added to one of the churches :—" It was an interesting spectacle, such an one perhaps as is seldom witnessed. The greatest caution has been exercised in receiving these candidates. Many more have been rejected than have been received. Their knowledge, doubtless, is scanty ; but many of their prayers testify that they are acquainted with the fundamental truths of the Gospel. They have no inducements to hypocrisy, except ridicule and persecution be inducements. Mr. C. is as faithful in addressing them as man can possibly be ; telling them that it will be of no use whatever to be baptized if they do not love and serve God : on the contrary, it would be far better for them if they were never baptized at all."

A worthy deacon of the church at Spanish Town, when asked his opinion respecting the experience of a candidate for church fellowship, usually observed, when the individual appeared forward and talkative—" Well, you peak very well ; but sweet mouth and pretty words dont always show dat de heart change : take care, we must watch you quite close, see what you *do*. It no hard ting to peak Christian, but it quite hard ting to follow up de Christian. Massa Jesus Christ say, ' Not ebery one as say Lord, Lord, shall enter into de kingdom, but him as do *de will*.' "

In consequence of defective knowledge, superstitious notions, the distance at which they have lived from the regular means of grace, or some act of inconsistency, considerable numbers of persons constituting the Baptist churches have been inquirers

during a *period of from three to seven years*. So far as the author is personally acquainted with the ministers and churches of the Baptist denomination in Jamaica, he cannot but believe that, not only as much, but even more caution is exercised in the admission of members into their communities, than is exercised by ministers and churches of any denomination in England. If, in relation to the admission of members, errors have been committed at all, it has been by a practice directly the reverse. As previously observed, hundreds of applicants for the privileges of church fellowship have been again and again rejected; and, as an individual, the author can assure the Christian world that on a review of his missionary life, scarcely anything gives him greater pain than the apprehension of the injury which he may have inflicted on those who have been thus denied, persuaded that, although comparatively ignorant of some of the truths of Christianity, that they knew Him whom to know is life eternal, and will receive a hearty welcome to the "marriage supper of the Lamb."

Great as is the aggregate number of Christians united in church fellowship with the various evangelical missionary societies in Jamaica, the total number annually excluded from them does not probably exceed, in proportion to the number of their members, the total exclusion from the churches in Great Britain. With regard to other denominations, the writer is unable to speak with certainty, not having access to the necessary documents by which to form a calculation; but the exclusions from the Baptist churches for the last four or five years, which churches now comprise 30,000 members, have scarcely averaged two per cent., or more than two in a year to a church of 120 members. Nor does this comparative fewness of exclusions arise from any laxity of discipline. Such is the system of supervision adopted, and which will be hereafter explained, that however large the church, or however widely its members may be scattered over a district, almost every inconsistency is known, and every thing of importance is at once reported to the church for investigation. Matters, indeed, which in England would be considered trivial are here regarded as *offences* requiring the exercise of discipline. Such as mutual misunderstandings, disagreements between man and wife,

covetousness, absence from social meetings and from the house of God, with others of a similar kind too numerous to detail. In almost all cases, where churches have been for any length of time established, acts of delinquency are faithfully reported: it is indeed held to be a sacred duty, whatever the circumstances or influence of the guilty party. A gentleman who communed with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. S. Oughton, soon after his arrival in Jamaica, thus writes to a friend in England:—"I sat down with about 3000 members. After the interesting service two members were publicly excluded—one for myalism, the other for what would make many a member of an English church look with astonishment—it was for being at the *races*; and this I am told is a constant and regular rule throughout the island." In cases, however, where members of churches have failed in their duty in this respect, it has, in almost every instance, been performed by those who are not professors. In Jamaica, as in England, worldly men are keen judges of what Christians ought to be; and so common is the practice on the part of the former to magnify inconsistencies into crimes, and to report them to the churches, in order to bring the accused under discipline, that this circumstance alone furnishes a strong presumptive evidence that if our members were not sincere in their profession they would not subject themselves to such constant and annoying liabilities. By almost all persons, from the highest to the lowest, church discipline is made a bugbear for selfish purposes. The author has frequently heard the observation, as he walked along the street, "If you do not mind how you behave, I will get you read out of your church." While, on the other hand, it is equally common, when a member has been really convicted of sin, for an employer, from the same interested motives, to solicit personally or by letter that discipline might be relaxed in favour of the offender. With reference to this duty, in regard to members themselves, fathers are frequently known to bear testimony against their children; husbands against their wives, and the contrary; masters against their servants, and servants against their masters; members of classes against their leaders, and leaders against the members of classes. Instances indeed are common

in which parents, from a regard to the glory of God and honour of the churches to which they belong, have done violence to their parental affections by refusing all intercourse with their children while under the censure of the church, or at least until discipline has had its effect in producing repentance and reformation. A few years since a respectable person of colour was excluded from one of the churches, as the united act of 2000 members, for allowing his daughter, a slave who was living in fornication with her master, an occasional residence beneath his roof. Attendance at dances, or merry-makings of any description, as well as at horse-races, are all sins which are visited with excision in all the Jamaica churches with which the author is acquainted. *Suspensions* seldom occur under any circumstances. All offences that properly come under the cognizance of the churches are dealt with impartially and promptly, although, perhaps, with too much severity to be in exact accordance with scriptural authority. The statements here made with regard to the fidelity of the members of the churches in reporting sin, by whomsoever committed, is thus corroborated by a missionary, Mr. Clarke, now of Western Africa, who had the charge of a church belonging to one of his brethren, in the absence of the latter from the island. "The deacons and leaders behave well, and show much faithfulness in reproofing sin. Your dear people in general show that they love the Saviour, and bid fair for being your 'joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.' One of the deacons has had heavy charges brought against him by a man who was excluded the church for drunkenness, but, after a patient investigation of the whole matter, it was found that rage and malice had caused the wicked man to invent falsehoods against him, in order to have him also put out of the church. The accused showed a good spirit throughout the whole."

Many of the people manifest as high a sense of Christian consistency as the most enlightened members of Christian churches in Britain. Some time since a missionary, as he had been accustomed, went to preach at a house that had been kindly lent to him by its tenant for the purpose, and finding no congregation to meet him, went round the village, and remonstrated with the people on what he supposed to be their im-

proper conduct, when he found that they had absented themselves because the master had been ill-using his wife. Preaching at the house was discontinued as a consequence, although no other was to be obtained in the neighbourhood.

An Evangelical clergyman, during the operation of the apprenticeship system, was appointed to officiate in the dwelling-house of an estate which had been consecrated by the Bishop as a temporary place of worship. The population around being almost wholly connected with the Baptist church and congregation at Spanish Town, the clergyman obtained the concurrence of their pastor to their attending on his ministry, in the absence of service performed by their own minister. The people, however, did not attend the preaching of the clergyman. Thinking their conduct the result of prejudice, he remonstrated with them, and used every effort in his power to remove it. All his attempts were unavailing, and being now satisfied, from his knowledge of the negro character, that they were influenced by other causes, he was resolved if possible, to ascertain them. Accordingly, on inquiring of one of the most influential among them, the individual, a black man, replied, "No, minister, we can't go to your church—God no dere!" "God is not there! what do you mean?" "God no come which side sin is. Busha livin wid woman in a house where minister preach widout dem married, and God can't come bless de word where sich wickedness carry on." "O, indeed! is it so? and is that the reason why you don't attend? Well, I will soon endeavour to remedy that." The clergyman represented the case to the Bishop, and another house in the neighbourhood was secured and occupied, not liable to the same objection. This fact, in substance, was mentioned to the author by the clergyman himself, as a gratifying evidence of the existence of Christian principle and feeling among the people in the district, and as calculated to encourage him in the prosecution of his work.

The manner in which the cases of alleged delinquency are investigated is in general eminently just and scriptural. Church meetings in most cases being held by the large churches at least once a week, it may be supposed that the rule laid down by our Lord for the treatment of offences is gene-

rally and extensively understood. Being so frequently appealed to, almost every instance of its violation forms a matter of complaint to the minister. "Minister," it is often said, "I know me done wrong, and me very sorry for it, but me come to ax minister if it right for me broder to tell me fault to another pusson, and to the church, before him come tell it to me? Him go against de scripture, and minister must bring him up to the church too." Their conduct towards backsliders, also, is in general in strict accordance with the word of God. On this account very few who are excluded absent themselves from the means of grace, or continue long without the pale of the church. Probably not more than the proportion of one-third of those excluded die in a state of apostasy.

Professing Christians, especially those attached to missionary churches, are called, by way of distinction and peculiarity, "*praying people*," and to this designation they are eminently entitled. As previously stated, prayer-meetings are almost invariably better attended than week-evening lectures. On special seasons for prayer, such as times of peculiar trial and general sickness, the places of worship are thronged. On his first arrival in the island the author was for several months prohibited from preaching by the public authorities; he however made repeated applications to Courts of Quarter Sessions to be allowed this right. On such occasions the place of worship at the station he occupied was crowded from the earliest dawn of day until the result transpired. During the interval, prayers, literally mingled with "strong crying and tears," were offered up almost without intermission, and with a fervency which he had never before witnessed. During the disturbances in 1832 daily prayer-meetings were held in many of the places of public worship in those districts to which the outbreak had not extended. They were generally crowded to excess. During the space of a fortnight a prayer-meeting was held every day in the chapel at Spanish Town, at twelve o'clock, and this notwithstanding the contumely, the scorn, and punishment to which the people were subjected; and on one occasion while engaged in earnest supplication that the unhappy man who had been induced to perjure himself against the missionaries, and on whose evidence their lives

depended, might be brought to repentance, a messenger arrived, announcing that their prayers were fully answered, thus literally fulfilling the promise, "It shall come to pass that before they call I will answer, and while they are yet speaking I will hear."*

In towns and in districts where there is a concentrated population, a minister can at almost any time, and at a comparatively short notice, insure an attendance at a special prayer-meeting amounting to two-thirds of his congregation. "The scarlet fever was raging dreadfully in Kingston when I was there," says Dr. Newbegin. "Entire families were sometimes swept away. It was so bad, indeed, that not a day passed without a funeral—often two during twenty-four hours in connexion with the church at East Queen Street, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Oughton. A public notice was given on the Sunday that a prayer-meeting would be held for the especial purpose of supplicating Almighty God on behalf of the suffering people. The time for meeting was half-past four o'clock, A. M., which was long before daylight. As many as 1500 people assembled. There was very great devotion, and many strove earnestly with the Spirit." Independently of the meetings for united family devotion on the estates, in numerous cases each separate house has its family altar. Nor is this practice confined to the country—it is almost universally current in the towns, where social prayer-meetings are so numerous and common; thus, in traversing the streets after dark, the voice of prayer and praise is heard in every direction. These habits are pursued abroad as well as at home. Wherever they went, and wherever familiarly known, the purity, the fervour, the resolution, and the constancy of their devotion, were universally apparent. On a certain occasion the author, when at one of his country stations, hearing that some tradesmen who were then slaves were

* Isaiah xv. 24.

On the 11th of February, 1833, Samuel Stennett, on whose affidavits Messrs. Burchell and Gardner have been committed, sent for his uncle, Mr. George Scott, a respectable person at Montego Bay, and declared to him that he had sworn falsely against the missionaries, and that he had been bribed to do so. See Dr. Cox's admirable 'History of the Baptist Mission,' where the whole of these tragical occurrences are related.

come to work on a plantation in the neighbourhood, employed them on the mission premises during their own time, on which account he provided them with sleeping accommodations. On rising before daylight on the first morning after they had lodged on the premises, he overheard one of them in fervent prayer, and on inquiry found that all of them (half a dozen in number) belonged to the church under the pastoral care of a missionary brother, the Rev. J. Merrick, now of Western Africa, whose station was about ten miles distant. These brethren were entire strangers to the writer until this discovery was made; and this he found was their habitual practice wherever they took up their abode for the night. In some cases it was customary for Christian negroes employed in field labour to hold a prayer-meeting during their hour of cessation for refreshment, in the middle of the day, selecting some secluded spot for the exercise. It is customary for the Christian negroes, both in town and country, whenever practicable, emulating the conduct of David, Daniel, and others of the Old Testament saints, to engage in *private* exercises of devotion three times a day. The moment they awake in the morning, which is often long before the dawn, they are on their knees: this is repeated at noon, and again on retiring to rest. Many are in the habit of praying thus whenever they awake in the night, and the writer has known some who, from constant habit, awoke almost invariably at a certain time, and poured forth their prayers in the stillness and solitude of the midnight hour. To such a degree is this duty in general recognised, that in towns, on the occurrence of a hurricane, or the shock of an earthquake, the voice of prayer is heard in almost every house, and frequently from the middle of the streets. Under these circumstances it will be readily conceived that social prayer-meetings are numerous and frequent. At these meetings among themselves females commonly engage as well as males, and their prayers are oftentimes distinguished by astonishing fervour and natural eloquence. In connexion with the Spanish Town district there are, on a moderate calculation, 280 every week, three or four being held during that period by each class respectively, under the superintendence of subordinate native agency. This estimate will probably apply to the

greater part of the larger churches and congregations on the island, as also to the majority of those of smaller dimensions, in a corresponding degree. On the supposition that these meetings averaged 100 per week, at 100 of the principal stations, there would be 10,000 social prayer-meetings during every week of the year.

The following is a prayer that was offered up some time since by a deacon of the church at Spanish Town, at a missionary prayer-meeting, and is inserted to convey an idea of the fervour and pious sentiment which usually pervade the supplications of the people. It was transcribed from memory as soon as the meeting was concluded, and the author can pledge himself to its accuracy, both as to sentiment and language.

“O, dōw great and blessed God, we tank and bless dy holy name dat dōw give we another opportunity of meeting togeder in de place where prayer is wont to be made. We acknowledge wid shame and confusion of face we great unwordiness to approach dy sacred footstool, and much less to handle dy sacred name between we polluted lip. We have not done one ting right nor fitten in dy sight ever since we born up to dis present hour. We have sin gainst de all time wid a high hand and a tretched out arm, and if dōw been strick in mark our offence, O gracious God, we bin cut down long before dis like de wortless cumberer of de ground. When we tink of dy great love to we poor dying sinner, dat dōw sent dy beloved son to pill him precious blood upon de cross, an buffeted, an spit upon, an mock by cruel man, what cause heb we, O blessed Massa, to call upon we heart, an all de power of we soul, to bless and praise dy holy name! Dōw do great tings indeed for we, an yet we heart so hard, we will so stubborn and rebellious, we conscience so hardened, we understanding so dark, dat instead of loving de as we ought, we do notin but sin an grieve dy Holy Spirit. Oh! left we not to weself, for if dōw do we tumble pon de dark mountain, an we feet catch in de trap de enemy of soul eber laying to draw we into. O do dōw broke we stubborn heart, for it is desperate wicked bove all tings, it is full of ebery cage of unclean bird. O do dōw root dem out same as Massa Jesus did cast out de debils out of de man wandering mong de tombs; an may we sit down like

him at de feet of Jesus, clothed and in we right mind.

"O Lord, me heart is full, but me is poor ting, no able to find word to tell de my want an desire. Me know not how to pray, nor what to pray for, but me heart is open to de like a well widout a cover, and me come dis night, hungring and thirsting, to eat de bread of life, an bring me empty pitcher, like de woman of Samaria, to draw water out of de well of salvation. O send we not empty away. Bless we, even we also, O our Fader, for dow has promis if poo sinner call pon de, dow will hear dem, for dy ear dont heavy dat it cannot hear, neider dy arm shorten dat dow cannot save. Remember Mary Magdalene and de tief pon de cross; dow didst wash dem wid dy precious blood, an dow is able to save to de uttermost all dat come unto de by him. O Lord, save or we perish. Blot out all we sin like a tick cloud from dy book of remembrance, an grant dat we may love de more, and sarve de better, ebery hour of we life. May we hate sin, an fly from it as from de ting of de serpent and deorpion, and continually receive fresh supply of grace from de till we keep wax tronger and tronger, and appear perfect before de in Zion. O do dow bless we dear minister, who call pon me unwordy servant for call pon him God my God. O do dow bless de message of salvation dat has been deliver on de past Sabbath. Do dow pare him life, an able him to lift up him voice like a mighty trumpet, dat sinner may see dem danger, an now begin to fly to de. O Lord water de seed sow from Sabbath to Sabbath, dat him no labour in vain, nor pend him strength for nought, but dat he may hab many seal for him ministry, and many soul for him hire. Many come here, O gracious Master, to pend an idle hour, or to mock pon dy precious word. O do dow bring down dem high look, and soften dem hard heart, dat dey may trow down dem rebellious weapon, and fight against de no mo, for dow say, whoeber fight against de and prosper? O Lord, sarch dem heart as dow did Jerusalem wid a lighted candle, an enable dem dat dem may see dem state as dow see it, an as dem self will see it, if dow cut dem off widout an intrus in dy precious blood. Turn dem from dem evil way, as dow did de city of Ninevah. Dow only can soften dem hard heart. Man cannot do it; it is dy work,

dear Jesus—dy work alone to make de leper clean. Dow say Paul plant, Apollos water, but God give de increase. O, blessed Master, we plead wid de. Broke dem heart as dow did Saul of Tarsus, dat dey may not rush down to de pit of destruction, where mercy neber come: we ax de for mercy's sake. Many dem lib like dem got no soul to save, no soul to lost. Top dem in dem mad career, and turn dem like de river of water is turned, dat day may no more blasfame dy name, nor broke dy Sabbath, nor prosecute dy little one any more. O Lord, we eye is up unto de; have mercy pon dem besfo dy mercy clean gone for eber. Blessed God, do dow look pon dy man-servant who train up de children in de cool; strengthen him for him difficult work; gib him patience dat him may be able to bear wid all dem preverse temper; an able him dat he may train up dem youthful mind to love an sarve dee, dat when we head lay low in de grave dey may rise up, fill we places mo better dan we, an become a generation to call de blessed.

"Dow hast bid we pray for de whole world, from de king pon his throne to de meanest pleasant pon de dunghill, derefo do dow hear we poo broken supplication for all we poo broder and sister who is sick; for de poo prisoner shut up in de dungeon; for all de poo widow and orphan; for all dat travel by sea or by land; an fo all de poo beggar, like Lazarus, laying down at de rich man's gate, full of sore. O Lord comfort dem; bind up dem wound, like de good Samaritan did to de poo man fell mong de tieves, when de priest an Levite passed by, an may dem affliction drive dem back to be like de prodigal son return hom to him fader house.

"Heb mercy, O Lord, pon de four corners of de world, where dem washing up tocks and tones, an de workmanship of dem own hand. Neber hear of Massa Jesus' blood to wash away dem guilty stain. O Lord, make de cales fall off dem dark eye like dow did Saul of Tarsus, when him going raven to Damascus to prosecute dy people. Send blessed European to teach dem how dem may escape dy wrath, which one day will be pour out pon de world. May dey cast away dem idol, and sa what we heb any mo to do wid idol, for dey cannot save we soul; notin but dy blood, dear Jesus, dy blood

alone. Has dow not said, dat like as de sun go tro de earth, so de light of dy Gospel shall shine tro de whole world? Has dow not said dat Jesus shall see of de trabel of him soul, and shall be satisfy? Dat like as de rain come and de snow from Heaben and cannot be gader up again by man, so dow would shower down dy blessing pon de whole world? Has dow not said in dy precious word, dat all nation, an king, and queen, shall bow down to dy authority? O do dow fill up dy gracious promise, and tur up all we heart more dat we may wrestle wid de like Jacob, dat dis time may soon come when dy son an daughter shall come from de East and de West, from de Nort and from de Sout, and sit down wid Abraham, Isaac, an Jacob, in de kingdom of God. O, we long for see dat blessed day: hasten it, blessed Jesus. Let not dy chariot-wheel tarry no longer. We ax it for Jesus' sake, to whom, wid de and de Holy Spirit, we excribe neber-ceasing praises. Amen."

Their prayers are frequently full of point and deeply affecting—"The sublime character and the sanctifying energy of the gospel flashing like brilliant beams of sunshine amidst parting clouds, through the forms of their broken dialect."* "Our monthly prayer-meeting," said a missionary, "is well attended, although we are obliged to meet before the sun goes down, to avoid the penalty. I am sure that some of the prayers offered up by these sons of Canaan would deeply affect your hearts, could you hear them. One said in his prayer last monthly meeting, with great fervour, 'Lord, save we poo black sinner! break up all de debil's work him done in me heart, and save poo African an *me poo Guinea neger*, from dat place where no sun shine, *where no tar twinkle*.' It is some encouragement to hear these poor things pray; and we do hope prayer will prevail against sin, and that this desert will, in answer thereto, be watered and become very fruitful."

SECTION III.—If an indisposition to make sacrifices for Christ is indicative of a low standard of piety, in whomsoever it is found, it may fairly be presumed that a willingness to part with all for his sake is

an evidence of the reverse; and, if this reasoning be admitted, it furnishes another most satisfactory evidence of the real piety of the Jamaica churches. No Christians in modern times have been more severely tried. The instances of the sacrifices they have made of worldly ease, of personal comfort, and of emolument arising from disreputable practices, would fill a volume, and which will be conceived by any individual acquainted with their history for the last twenty years; indeed, a "holy love to Christ and his cause has been exhibited by these poor people; a purity and steadfastness of purpose; a patient endurance; a pure and enlightened charity—only equalled by the confessors and martyrs of the early church, and scarcely less confirmatory of the Christian faith, than the edifying testimony they bore to the Divine power of the truth as it is in Jesus."* Of this fact it is only necessary to adduce one or two illustrations, which will, at the same time, bear upon the general subject of their Christian character.

Riding along one day in the centre of the island, and upon the summit of the ridge of mountains which intersects the country, the author discovered a group of negro women and children sitting by the road-side, beneath the shade of a tree, enjoying their morning's meal. From his knowledge of the country, and the remoteness of the estate to which they belonged from any place of worship, a favourable opportunity was presented of ascertaining, with some degree of certainty, the extent of religious influence in the interior. He accordingly addressed the most intelligent-looking woman of the group, little anticipating the nature of her replies.

M. "Well, my good woman, do you pray?"

W. "Ah, massa, me trust me do little," she answered with a sigh and a very dejected countenance.

M. "Do you really know anything about Jesus Christ?"

W. "Me sweet massa, ye poo neger very sorry him no know precious Massa Jesus only little, but me striven on to know and lub him more."

M. "Who is Jesus Christ, and what did he come into this world for?"

W. "Me tink Jesus Christ is de Son of

* Dr. Cox.

* Macfarlane's 'Jubilee of the World,' p. 414.

God, and him come into de world to die for me poo sinner. No so, massa?"

M. "Where did you first hear about Christ; and how long have you loved him?"

W. "Me yeare about him in de Mettad-dis chapel not much long ago, and me lub him eber since. Ah me sweet massa, we all wish fo pray to we sweet Massa Jesus long befo, but Massa Buckra prosecute we so. Him no like pray none 't all. Him put we in a tocks, and punish we all time. Ah, poor we! But, massa, we till striven on; me can't leave off to lub Massa Jesus for please Massa Buckra. Massa Jesus come dead fo we poo soul, and we must lub him. If we dead we can't turn we back pon him."

Sacrifices were made by them during slavery, not only of time, comfort, and emolument, but also of property and freedom. The fact that any negroes on estates possessing a little property were professing Christians, was, in numerous cases, a sufficient pretence for the depredations of individuals to whose power they were subjected. Hence their huts were frequently entered, and the little money, which by their superior habits and industry they had acquired, ruthlessly taken away. Many suffered in their worldly circumstances in other respects.

"If you had not joined those enthusiasts of sectarians," said a gentleman to an aged negro woman, "my uncle would have made a good provision for you in your old age; but now, unless your connexion with these people is dissolved, he will stop what he has been allowing you."

"Me quite sorry," said the poor woman, "dat massa angry wid him old sarvant so, but if massa vex because me take up God work, well den me can't help it; beggen massa pardon, God's angry worsen dan massa's angry, an me soul wants more feed dan me body want feed."

"Yes, but only think," replied the gentleman, "how much better it would be for you to have all things comfortable now you are getting old."

"Massa quite good to care for him poo neger body so, but me no wants fo massa fo geb me notin more—me quite satisfy. Me allers heb someting fo eat an drink, an God so good ge me helt an trength, an den what me wants again? If me wants mo, old massa heart in God hand, and den him

open massa heart an make massa ge me more; but since me no wants notin, den God keep massa heart shut, so him don't want to give me more. Me quite comfort too, massa. God promise him no make me wants no good ting: and Massa Jesus sa, 'What profit a man heb if him gain de whole world and lose him own soul.'"

"But why couldn't you have gone to church and heard the rector preach; is n't he as good a preacher as your parson? Why must you go to these ignorant men, who pull down church and state, and are bringing ruin upon the country? The minister of the parish church preaches excellent sermons, I assure you."

"Yes, massa," was her reply; "massa minister in de chutch preach very good sarmon fe true, but it no use to give horse corn and den don't curry him."

"Give a horse corn and then not curry him; what do you mean?"

"Please, massa, me mean massa minister in a chutch preach berry good sarmon in de pulpit, but him neber go bout mong de people see how dem lib same as we minister do. Him people seems like dem love God Sunday, but dem no seems to care bout God and dem soul all tro de week;—dat make me tell massa sa it no use fe give horse corn and den don't curry him."

The following dialogue, illustrative of the same particulars, took place between a magistrate and a tradesman (an African) before the abolition of slavery, the latter being summoned before the magistrate for holding a prayer-meeting in his house:—

Magistrate. "So you have got a church in your yard, I understand, Mr. G.?"

Tradesman. "Me a chutch, massa—no."

M. "O yes, you have."

T. "Please, massa, what massa mean, sar?"

M. "Mean! Why, that you are in the habit of preaching in a church that you have lately built in your yard (a class-house), and that you are in the habit of preaching there; is it so?"

T. "Me preach, massa? me poor ignorance man; me no able fe preach; me no able to speak much less,—me quite be glad if me could preach."

M. "I am quite sure that you preach, or do something of the sort there."

T. "No, massa; me *pray* some time in me house, dat is all."

M. "Well, what do you call that but preaching and holding a church in your house?—that is what I mean, to be sure."

T. "Well, den, if dat make me heb a chutch in me house, massa self heb a chutch in him house too."

M. "I a church!—no, I have no church."

T. "Please, massa, den't massa belong to Chutch a England?"

M. "Yes, certainly."

T. "Den, as massa is Christian, and blongs to Chutch a England, massa no heb mornin and evenin prayers in him family?"

M. "Yes, yes," hesitatingly.

T. "Well, den, dat make me sa if me heb chutch in me house, massa heb chutch in him house."

M. "But you have people coming to you from considerable distances, and I understand you preach to them."

T. "Hi! Massa, what dat? Sometime, when me friend and broder Christian come down from de country market and call fo see me, we discourse pon different tings about religion, and den bow down de knee togedder—das all. And when massa heb friend come in for see him from de country, massa no discourse and bow down wid dem in de same fashion?"

M. "I don't know, sir, how that is; but I know this, that there is an affidavit filed against you in the peace-office for preaching in your house, or somewhere."

T. "Well, as for dat, me quiet man, nebber do nobody no harm; but dere is many a dem in dis country don't like religion, and dat's de truth; and derefore dem strive much against we."

M. "But you will injure your character and trade by such doings, I assure you; and I would advise you to leave them off."

T. "Ah!—well massa, me can't help bout losten de trade, me can't left off to pray; and as to what pusson sa bout me character me don't trouble bout dat neider. Dem good word don't do me much credit, and dem bad word is no disgrace."

Numerous instances have occurred in which freedom has been offered to Christian slaves connected with missionary churches, on condition of their leaving off praying; but in no instance, of which the author is aware, has there been a compliance with the terms. An excellent African negro woman, with a family of six or seven children, who, on account of her fide-

lity and unwearied attentions to some part of the family to which she belonged, was promised her freedom, and the manumission-papers, both for herself and children, were actually prepared. She had just begun to attend on the preaching of the Gospel, intelligence of which soon reaching the ear of her master, he questioned her upon the subject; she acknowledged that she had begun to pray, and that her heart led her to take up God's work. The master threatened that unless she at once abandoned all connexion with the missionaries he would recall his promise with regard to giving her her liberty. She was immovable; he reasoned;—reproached her with obstinacy and with a want of natural affection for her children. She wept, but remained steadfast. He gave her a few days to consider his determination. She carried her case to God and to her minister. At the conclusion of the specified time she was again ushered into the presence of her master. The writings were exhibited, and the terms again proposed. She had prepared herself for the result, and replied with tears, and an almost bursting heart,—
"Massa, we want de free, but me cannot deny me Saviour." The master was enraged, and commanded her to take the papers and put them into the fire. She did so, and superintended the flames until they were consumed to ashes.*

Multitudes of them were exposed to grievous persecution. Even on the Sabbath day the poor people on many estates and other properties were obliged to steal to a place of worship. The expedient they often adopted in order to elude detection was to dress as on a week day, and to carry their better clothes in a basket on their heads, covered with a few vegetables, as though they were going to market. In some instances spies were actually sent to places of worship for the purpose of identifying individuals belonging to certain properties. Thus numbers were punished for no other crime than that of going to a place of worship, and to this penalty all were more or less liable.

The communication of religious truth by one Christian negro to another was an offence cognizable by the civil magistrate,

* The wife of the author had the happiness, subsequently, of procuring the freedom of this poor woman and her family.

and, when detected, was severely punished. An instance of this, which occurred but a few years ago, it may not be unimportant to detail for reasons irrespective of the fact it is designed especially to illustrate. A slave belonging to the Bog estate, in the parish of Vere, named George Ancle, was brought to the bar, charged with holding and attending nightly meetings in defiance of the 51st clause of the Island Slave Law. Prisoner pleaded Not guilty.

Mr. Syers, overseer of the Bog, sworn.—On Monday, 21st June, a man by the name of Duncan, or Wilson, was sent to me by the driver, as being a preacher about our negro houses; he was decently dressed, and had on a black coat. I talked a little, and then ordered him off the property. I was then taken to the negro houses by our head watchman; went with him to the chapel, saw eleven benches and a pulpit in the same, gave orders that all these should be taken to the overseer's house. This was the Methodist chapel. I was then taken to the Baptist chapel. I knew nothing more than what the head driver and head watchman told me.

Head driver, sworn.—I have seen prisoner stand up and pray; did not see any pulpit; I sometimes go to hear him, and plenty others go,—some pray. We meet on Sunday afternoons. I sometimes stay till all is over. It is not later than eight or nine o'clock. Never see or know him to get any money. I go to hear prayers and to pray to God. Never knew the negroes to neglect their work or turn out later in the mornings in consequence.

John Chambers, head watchman of the Bog, and a Christian (*i. e.* who was christened), sworn.—The prisoner is a preacher, he has been in the habit of praying many years. Since old Massa's time myself and others go and hear him; they meet on Sunday afternoons, and Friday nights at dark. Can't say the time. The candles were lighted. We did not know it was any harm to go and hear of our duty to God. I have seen the prisoner preaching. I can't say what time when we break up. Prisoner never had a book. We all sang hymns also. There was never any money collected. Never saw, or heard of the prisoner getting paid for his preaching, either by money, fowls, pigs, or any other things else.

The driver was here called upon to give

the prisoner a character.—Prisoner is a carpenter; a very good working man; a moral man; never knew him to get into faults, or run away; always pleased every one.

The prisoner was here asked what he had to say in his defence. There being a general clamour throughout the court, the prisoner was abashed. He said he attended church and chapel whenever he could himself, and heard the good word, which he thought was no harm to tell to his fellow-slaves, and "praying with and for them, that God may bless them all."

The Court then addressed him, saying, that the jury had found him guilty of preaching; and as such, and in order to deter others from the like, the sentence of the Court was that he should be taken to Clarendon workhouse, and there placed to six months' hard labour.

Similar to this is the subjoined letter from a slave, addressed to the author in 1829:—

"SIR,—This will inform you of the state which I am situated in for this present; but I am forbid, or any other slave, not to be seen on the place;* or I, or who-soever is caught there, is to be sent to the workhouse to hard labour for three months. There is watches over me in the negro house, and I am put on spell Wednesday and Friday night in the boiling-house. Through the mercy of God, which I hope of his goodness he will keep me up, so I shall be truly thankful to you for some advice to give me some ease, for I am desired to deny the Saviour's name, and they will treat me well on the property, to forsake the only one which died for me poor sinner.

"I am, dear Minister, &c."

This man was nearly white, and had been head carpenter upon the estate for many years. His going to the boiling-house was therefore of itself a degradation of office, which many would scarcely know how to endure.

An excellent man, a member of the church at Spanish Town, was flogged, and sentenced to hard labour in the convict-gang, for no other offence than praying to God.

* A small place of worship which had been built through his influence near Jericho, the Baptist Mission Station in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

Another was about the same time sentenced to six months' confinement in a workhouse, for giving the best instruction in his power to his fellow-slaves.

The Rev. John Clarke, now of Western Africa, addressing the author in the year 1832, immediately after the disturbances of that period, says:—

“The torments, persecutions, and privations, now more than ever endured by Christian slaves, are not to be thought of without harrowing up the soul and causing the heart to bleed at every pore. No Colonial Church Union has been formed in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and thus it may be viewed as a parish as little excited as any in the island; yet in this parish the demon of persecution rages not a little. Miss C— has been threatened with the destruction of her house, and the voice of prayer and praise, sometimes heard from among the trees, is greatly complained of, though the noise of the goombay, the drum, and the dance is encouraged, and was heard by me from several properties, not only during the night of Saturday last, but until 8 o'clock on Sabbath morning. Thus wickedness is encouraged, and piety is contemned. One of our members has been sent to Rodney Hall Workhouse* for a month, simply for being a Baptist, and has been *caned* by her brutal owner—wrought as usual through the day, and thrown into a dark dungeon *each night for a month*. She told me her usage was such that she would have much preferred being sent to Rodney Hall. A third was seen returning from worship last month by her overseer, and had the promise of being *marked*; and on the Monday morning received a severe flogging. I could go further, but need not. What I have said will give you some idea of the usage of our brethren and sisters in Christ who are slaves, throughout the island.”

George Gibbs, a man of colour, who came in the last century from the southern states of North America, laboured with great diligence and zeal, in the midst of persecution and privation, while all around was darkness and spiritual death. He was once thrown into Spanish Town jail, and confined there four days for preaching the gospel of Christ. Frequently he was

taken while on estates at night, and cast into a dungeon; and sometimes had his feet made fast in the stocks. Nothing discouraged, he persevered in travelling from place to place, making known Christ and his salvation to the perishing multitudes around him. In this way he collected together many hundreds of people, and formed those of them who believed into a Christian church. Owing to the fearful state of Jamaica at that time, he baptized and administered the Lord's Supper under the shade of night, in unfrequented places, where his persecutors were not likely to come upon him or his helpless flock. After a time a piece of land was privately bought, and a sort of chapel was erected upon it. This was surrounded by swamps, and ground covered with trees and bushes: here for a time they worshipped God, concealed from the view of their enemies, and hoped their secluded retreat would not become known. Soon, however, it was found out by two white men—the worshippers fled, and the building was speedily levelled to the ground.

For years in succession these poor creatures were liable to frequent, arbitrary, and excessive punishment, and in numerous instances they were called to endure the bitter effects of the same spirit that kindled the fires of Smithfield, and originated the cruelties of the Inquisition.

Jamaica has furnished as noble a band of martyrs to the truth as any part of the world of similar extent and within the same period of time, since the 16th century. Fitzherbert Batty, Esq., who was not remarkable for his liberality, observed in the House of Assembly but a few years ago, “If the white inhabitants had not exemplified the spirit of Bonner in torturing and burning the missionaries and their flocks, it was not for want of will.” Pretexts, however, were occasionally afforded for the hostile and malignant spirit that was latent in their bosoms towards the less privileged servants of the Most High, and multitudes of them ascended to heaven by as certain a flight as the spirits of the murdered Vaudois from the valleys of the Alps. Like those

—“Whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains' cold;
—Their moans
The vales resounded to the hills, and they
To heaven.”

Reference is especially made to the tra-

* Notorious as a place of punishment during slavery and apprenticeship.

gedy of 1832, an ample account of which is furnished in Dr. Cox's history, previously noticed. Two or three instances of this malignant persecuting spirit will here suffice:—

A magistrate, and a considerable proprietor and attorney, having frequently expressed to his slaves his detestation of praying, and threatened with severe punishment any of them whom he might find thus engaged, had one day an intimation, while boasting of his success in excluding religion from the properties he managed, that several of the negroes on the estate where he then resided, had caught the infection, and that they were in the habit of holding evening meetings. He hastened to the negro village to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the report, and, to his mortification, actually caught several of them in a house upon their knees in prayer. He immediately identified them, and after venting his rage returned to his house. Mark the sequel. This fiend in human form, raving with fury, declared that they should have enough of being on their knees, and made them, by way of punishment, work on their knees in the field, and in the performance of household duties, for several days; at the same time ordered the house in which they assembled to be demolished! An aged negro, who was punished with great severity, on being asked after each successive infliction if he would promise to leave off praying and teaching, as often repeated, "Massa may flog me flesh, but him can't flog me soul; me must pray, massa, and me will pray, massa." He maintained his determination, although almost exhausted with suffering. It is currently reported that one negro was actually executed for this "crime" in the parish of Manchester some years since, and that his body was suspended on a gibbet until devoured by birds of prey, as a terror to others. Another individual, who is still living, was condemned under the same circumstances, and but for some providential occurrence would have suffered the same penalty.

An overseer, who was also a magistrate, had a negro flogged repeatedly and cruelly several times in succession for praying, first giving him thirty-nine lashes; then to obviate the cognizance of the law, which restricted the number of lashes to thirty-

nine at one time, released him, and tied him up again, &c. At length the heart of the driver relented at the sufferings of his fellow-slave, and he ventured humbly to expostulate with the overseer, saying, "Massa, me no able to flog your neger more; him have enough already, and him no able to bear more." The overseer insisted upon obedience, and the driver was obliged to submit. The victim was for the last time laid down upon a ladder, and whipped unmercifully. On his being taken up he staggered a few paces and fell. He was raised again, but he again fell, being utterly unable to stand. He was then conveyed to the hospital, and the medical man who attended the estate arriving just at the time, was called to see him, as he had fainted. He told the overseer that the negro was dying. The overseer declared he was not, and almost insisted on his being bled. "What is the use of it?" said the doctor; "Don't you see the poor man is almost gone?" With these words upon his lips, taking hold of the victim by the wrist, he found indeed that his pulse had ceased to beat. An inquest was held on the body the next day, and the verdict returned was, "Died from infirmity."

"He dropped his quivering flesh upon the sod,
And flew to meet his Saviour and his God."

* * * * *
"He died beneath the lash—his mortal frame
Could bear no more, and death in mercy came;
Patient and calm his spirit passed away,
And now his body sleeps beneath the clay;
His toils are over, and his weary breast
Has found what man in life denied him—rest.
Poor, slumbering dust! is there that passes by
And yields thy death the tribute of a sigh?
The tyrant tramples on thy lowly grave—
'Tis but the ashes of a murdered slave!"

And what has been the conduct and spirit which these poor creatures have exemplified under this complication of trials and sufferings? Probably no instance has been known in which they have displayed a spirit of revenge; but on the contrary, one of pity, forbearance, patience, and forgiveness. Never did the author hear from the lips of any, even when smarting under the influence of punishment recently inflicted, a single word that implied anything like retaliation; but on the contrary, frequently has he seen them lift their eyes to heaven, and pray for mercy on their persecutors. Their language has often been, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," adding, "Buckra left him God in England, and devil in Jamaica stir

him up to do all dis wickedness. Poor ting ! him eye blind, and him heart hard ; but if God open him eye, and touch him heart, him sorry, and no prosecute any more." A book-keeper on a certain occasion rushed into one of the little village chapels where a number of poor people belonging to the estate on which it was located had assembled for prayer, and approaching a table that was at one end of the room, against which a venerable old man was standing, engaged in conducting the devotions, immediately commenced a mock imitation of preaching. After conducting himself in a disgraceful manner for some time, and finding he could not provoke the resentment of these poor but pious people, he thus addressed himself to an African woman who was less able to restrain her feelings than her associates, the rest for some time observing the most perfect silence.

Book-keeper. Well ! don't you think I have preached a good sermon in your church for the first time ?

Answer. Dis don't no chutch, sar. If massa want preach, hadn't massa better go preach in him own chutch a England ? Don't massa sa him blong to Chutch a England ?

B. Belong to the Church of England ! yes, to be sure I do. I am none of your hypocrites and methodists.

A. Ah ! well den, since massa blong to Chutch a England, if him want make fun him better make fun in him own chutch den.

B. I don't want any of your lectures. Let me see, I must now pray. How do you go to work to pray : tell me, will you ?

A. Don't massa a buckra gentleman ? Why den you ax me how fo pray ? me always tink sa buckra gentleman know better den neger know—how den massa come ax neger fo larn him when massa ought to much mo able fo teach poor neger sarvant how fo pray ?

B. Nonsense. Tell me, I say, how you pray.

A. Well ! since massa don't know, we will tell him. When we pray we say, "Our Fader which art in Heaven," sometimes—sometimes we beg God to give we new heart and right spirit, dat we may love him and all we fellow-creature more. Pray !—dat mean to tell God all what in we heart, and beg him to forgive all we sin

tro Jesus Christ. An one ting we pray for *now*, massa—pray God to give we patience dat we no get vex wid massa fo all what him do in broking up we meetin, and making all de carousement about de place.

B. I tell you I don't want any of your preaching—I want you to show me how you go to work to pray (kneeling down and lifting up his hands and eyes in mockery)—come, tell me what I am to say.

[*The old man presiding at the meeting.* O massa ! we quite sorry to see how massa go on mock God so ; and since massa don't know to pray for himself, we will try to pray for him, dat God may make him throw down him rebellious weapon, and have mercy upon him soul at de last day. Poor buckra child ! sin harden you heart an bline you eye too much.]

The whole company here joined in an ejaculatory prayer on his behalf.

B. Ah ! I don't want your prayers ; black people's prayers are good for nothing—how can they pray truly when they tell lies and thief ?

A. No, massa, dem can't pray truly till God's spirit teach dem, den dem pray truly, an arter dat dem don't tief again. Befo dem pray, den dem tell lie and tief. Befo dem no *know* good, den dem no *do* good ; when dem *know* good, den dem cant do bad again.

B. Yes, but black people have no souls, and therefore they have no business to pray.

A. All black pusson is sinner, as same as white pusson, and Massa Jesus sa him hear when all sinner pray, so dat mean black sinner as well as white sinner. Him say him don't want no fine word, no long argument ; but if we don't able to say more dan "God be merciful to we poor sinner," like de publican, we shall go down to we house justify.

This impious man at length withdrew, amidst expressions of pity and prayer by the poor people, who made his case, and that of similar ones, an especial subject of their future supplications.

The spirit which the poor Christian negroes have manifested under these persecutions has been indeed most exemplary. "Whan can Jesus Christ do for you now ?" said an inhuman slave-master, when in the act of applying the lacerating whip to an

already half-murdered slave. "Him teach me to forgive you, massa," was the reply; and this has been the sentiment of hundreds in Jamaica under similar treatment. The following anecdote seems so accurately to describe the conduct of the generality of negro Christians towards their enemies, that it forms an appropriate conclusion to this particular.

A slave in one of the islands of the West Indies, originally from Africa, having been brought under the influence of religious instruction, became singularly valuable to his owner, on account of his integrity and general good conduct—so much so that his master raised him to a situation of some importance in the management of his estate. This owner, on one occasion wishing to purchase twenty additional slaves, employed him to make the selection, giving him instructions to choose those who were strong and likely to make good workmen. The man went to the slave-market, and commenced his search. He had not long surveyed the multitudes offered for sale before he fixed his eye intently upon an old and decrepid slave, and told his master that he must be one. The master seemed greatly surprised, and remonstrated against it; the poor fellow begged that he might be indulged, when the dealer remarked that if they were about to buy twenty he would give them the old man into the bargain. The purchase was accordingly made, and the slaves were conducted to the plantation of their new master, but upon none did the selector bestow half the attention he did upon the poor old decrepid African. He took him to his own habitation, and laid him upon his own bed; he fed him at his own table, and gave him drink out of his own cup; when he was cold he carried him into the sunshine, and when he was hot he placed him under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees. Astonished at the attention this confidential slave bestowed upon a fellow-slave, his master interrogated him on the subject. He said, "You could not take so intense an interest in the old man but for some special reason—he is a relation of yours, perhaps your father?" "No, massa," answered the poor fellow, "he no my fader." "He is then an elder brother?" "No, massa, he be no my broder." "Then he is an uncle, or some other relation." "No, massa, he be no of my kinred at all, nor even my friend." "Then," asked the

master, "on what account does he excite your interest?" "He my enemy, massa," replied the slave; "he sold me to the slave-dealer, and my Bible tell me, when my enemy hunger feed him, and when he thirst give him drink, for in so doing I shall heap coals of fire on his head."

SECTION IV.—The members of the Jamaica churches are distinguished in general by great love to one another, to the ordinances of God's house, and to their ministers. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples," says the Saviour, "if ye have love one for another." This distinguishing badge of true discipleship is perhaps exemplified by no body of Christians at the present day in a greater degree than by the churches in Jamaica. They emphatically regard each other as belonging to the family of Christ, and as being members *one of another*. This relationship is universally recognised. The members, though numerous, *know* each other, and are generally on terms of the most friendly intercourse, whatever be the difference of their worldly circumstances. They are greatly distinguished for their hospitality one towards another. Hundreds are in the habit of coming from the country to the towns to attend the services on the Sabbath; and for this purpose many arrive on the previous evening, and all find gratuitous accommodation at the houses of their Christian brethren. The same disposition is manifested throughout the country; so that every individual, in travelling from one part of the island to the other, if able to prove his connexion with a Christian church, is sure to meet with kindness, accommodation, and refreshment. When in circumstances of worldly difficulty they usually assist each other. Numerous and frequent instances have occurred in which churches have contributed to purchase the freedom of a brother or sister. While they seldom fail to report actual cases of delinquency, it is not often that they judge each other by a censorious and uncharitable temper. They are slow to speak of each other's failings and imperfections, and, like their compassionate Lord, are much more disposed to pity and to pray for a fallen brother than to censure him. To befriend and cherish the destitute, the sick, and the aged, is a duty generally regarded; hence,

whenever any one is taken ill, arrangements are immediately made, by the leader of the class to which he belongs, to secure him a supply of gratuitous attendants, and for the purpose of ascertaining and supplying his wants. None are driven to the necessity of seeking relief from the parish. The author indeed is not aware that a single individual in the island connected with dissenting churches is dependent upon the parish for support. In cases of death, where no effects are left to cover the expenses of the funeral, such expenses are defrayed by private contributions or from a fund for the relief of the poor, which is supplied by donations at the sacrament.

Their attachment to each other, as brethren and sisters of the family of Christ, is associated with great respect and deference, especially when met together for the disposal of church business. Whatever the respectability of some of the candidates for church fellowship, or the members against whom charges are preferred, they pass through the same ordeal as the meanest individual; and though questioned by their brethren, many of whom were slaves, rarely do they manifest any signs of contempt or airs of superiority.

Their attendance on the public means of grace is not only numerous, but, wherever those means are statedly supplied, both *regular and punctual*. Habits were contracted during slavery of attending the house of God only on every alternate Sabbath, and it is so at the present time where the public means of grace cannot be more frequently afforded, or where difficulties arise from indisposition or remoteness of residence. But referring especially to the towns and thickly populated districts in which missionaries reside, not only is the attendance of the people regular as to the *day*, but also as to *time*. Some are seated in the house of God an hour or more before the service commences, and on the morning of the Sabbath, almost all are in their places before the minister enters the pulpit. Like Cornelius to Peter, they seem to say, "Now, therefore, we are all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." The services of God's house are evidently their delight—"times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Pleasure beams in every eye and animates every countenance. Their behaviour is *serious*, suited

to the place and the occasion; whilst usually their attention is remarkable, occasionally expressed by responses and other signs of interest and approval. In hundreds of instances some of these poor creatures have travelled fifty miles to enjoy the advantage of a single Sabbath; and there is scarcely a place of worship in the island but numbers who are in the constant habit of attending have to travel a distance of from three to ten or fifteen miles; and whether going or returning, they give an impression that they regard the worship of God as a high and holy privilege.

On particular occasions, such as baptisms, chapel openings, as well as at missionary meetings, they are enthusiastic, sometimes attending in such numbers as to fill the whole premises, and manifesting such signs of gratification as demonstrates that their love to Christ and to his cause is supreme. On such occasions in the lowlands some come from almost incredible distances. The roads leading to the stations where these festivals occur are literally thronged; some are seen in chaises, some in carts, some in wagons drawn by oxen, some on horseback, with hundreds on foot, bearing baskets on their heads containing their best apparel; but all pressing on with vivacity and speed. They identify both their interest and their happiness with the cause of God. The performance of their religious duties is their meat and drink. With regard to Zion, it may be almost literally said that "they take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." During the disturbances in 1832, the anxiety manifested for the preservation of their places of worship, and the grief expressed when any were demolished, was intense. Where danger was apprehended, some were guarded by hundreds of the poor people day and night, for two or three successive weeks, they being fully determined to perish in their efforts to save them, should any attempts be made for their destruction.

The attachment of the people to their *pastors* is proverbial. On their minister paying a visit to his village, especially if accompanied by his wife and children, the expressions of regard towards them on the part of the inhabitants are enthusiastic. All, from the youngest to the oldest, pour forth to welcome them. Every eye sparkles with delight, and every thing that

kindness of heart can suggest is done for them. The boys vie with each other in climbing the cocoa-nut trees to refresh them with the wholesome beverage which the unripe fruit of that tree affords. They are regaled with fruit of different kinds, and seats are provided for them usually beneath a tree in some particular part of the village, the most convenient for the social interview. These are often seasons of refreshing to the aged and infirm particularly; and their kindness and gratitude are often almost overwhelming: on leaving, benedictions follow the visitors until they are out of hearing.

"God bless minister and misses, and de children! come call, come see we; give we comfort."

If unexpectedly discovered among the settlements of their own people when travelling in the interior of the country, the tidings are shouted from hill to hill, and the whole place presents a scene of joyous excitement. If compelled to leave their charge for a time from ill health, the scenes at parting are oftentimes affecting in the extreme. Of this the following occurrence may afford a specimen. It happened in the case of a missionary a few years ago. Urged to take a voyage to some cooler climate without delay, he decided on going for a few weeks to America, and on the following Sabbath announced his intention to his beloved people.

The limits within which his absence was to be confined would, he thought, cause it to be regarded merely as a trip to the other side of the island; but in the minds of his sable flock, the big water was identified only with images of distance and danger; and it was this that made the prospect of separation so formidable: if he once embarked on that treacherous element they might see the face of their minister no more. Hence, when it was intimated that the period of his departure was unalterably fixed, feelings were excited which betokened how painful would be the struggle on the eve of embarkation. On the preceding day the mission premises presented a moving spectacle of sadness. No one interested in the event could behold the poor creatures loitering about the house, or sitting about the yard, as though to take a long and last farewell, without the deepest emotion. Impossible as it was under such circumstances to complete the

necessary arrangements, a prayer-meeting was proposed, at which the final farewell might be given *en masse*. On the following morning, though but a few were at first acquainted with the design, multitudes were knocking at the chapel-gate long before the break of day, and at five o'clock the entire chapel was crowded. The profoundest silence reigned until the minister entered the chapel. It was then broken at intervals by sighs and half-stifled sobs; whilst all eyes seemed glistening with tears. The scene spoke to the heart. It was like a funeral. A hymn was given out, which was sung in a melting tone, and with a quivering voice. One of the brethren was then called upon to pray. He prayed and wept, and wept and prayed again: "O dow merciful and gracious God!" he uttered at intervals, "to whom all hearts is open; dow knowest dat we met togedder dis mornin to pray for dy dear minister servant before de, who dow in dy providence is about to take from we dis day. O do dow protect him on de wide big water and from cruel man, for dow hold de wind and de wave in de hollow of dy hand. Dow say no ting shall do dy prophet harm. Establish him health, and bring him back again to we, O gracious Redeemer; bring him back to we, dy poor sheep, wandering on de dark mountains widout a shepherd, dat we may praise and glorify dy holy name. But may be we may neber see him face in de flesh no more again." Here tears completely choked his utterance, and sobs became universally audible. Both minister and people were in tears; the former, however, succeeded in reading a few verses of the Scriptures and in giving out a verse of a hymn. The whole assembly now wept aloud. The place emphatically became a Bochim, "a place of weeping;" and the school children adding their shrill voices to the strain of lamentation, the service was necessarily brought to a close. Waving his pocket-handkerchief, therefore, and begging them never to cease to pray for his recovery and safe return, the pastor, with the most overwhelming feelings, uttered the word "farewell," and retired. Multitudes followed him to the sea side, six miles distant, and, amidst tears and lamentations, watched the boat in which he had embarked to join the vessel until it disappeared behind an interven-

ing promontory. Nor do they forget their ministers during their absence from them, as is proved by the following extract of a letter lately addressed to a missionary now in England; as also one from the teachers of the Sabbath-school:

"July 8, 1842:—I read your letter to the dear people of your charge, and I can assure you that it is impossible for tongue to express, or heart to conceive, the feeling of joy which took possession of the whole company. Every eye seemed to sparkle with joy, and every heart to throb with delight; and had you heard the fervent petitions that ascended up to the God of all grace on behalf of yourself, your dear partner, and the ship's crew, you could not have refrained from tears. I cannot tell the number that I have had this week, telling me, when I write to minister, to remember them to him. I am sure I need not put any thing into this letter but affectionate remembrances."

"July 22nd.—They (the people) have not forgotten you, and I am sure they never will, so long as memory holds her seat in each of their bosoms; and I am almost sure that had it not been for the hope they entertained of seeing you again, and of your spending your last moments with them, they would never have given you up."

July 22nd.—From two of the teachers of the Sabbath and day-schools, on behalf of the whole:—

"This is now six weeks since your departure, and we now think it the most favourable time to write to you, as we hope you are by this time nearly home. You are aware that while you were here we have always borne that degree of attachment to, and respect for you, not only as a pastor, but a father among us. And by this you will perceive that, though you are now far away from us, you and yours are still present to our imaginations; for although we are unacquainted with the various tacking and points by which the ship goes, yet it appears to us as if we are really spectators of her in her progress across the Atlantic. We were exceedingly sorry, that, owing to the lateness of the hour at which you went on board at Port Royal, being also tired of waiting in the boat, we were unable to see the last of you; but now, as we hope you are in England, or nearly so, we think it not too

late to express our good wishes towards you, and earnestly hope that the blessing and peace of God, may attend you and your dear wife, and all who go along with you; and would entreat you never to lose sight of your promise to suffer no other thought to take possession of your mind than that of coming back to labour among the people that you have for so many years been labouring amongst, and who since your departure also have been the subjects of sorrow at parting with you, and exhibited the utmost concern for your safety by their earnest supplications to Almighty God. They are cherishing the hope that you will soon have recovered your wonted strength and ability, and not many months shall have passed before they shall have the privilege of seeing you again in the flesh."

Numbers of similar cases might be cited, as well as many facts illustrative of the joyous feelings that have been expressed on the return of the messengers of peace to their home and to their work—on the latter occasion going miles to meet them on the road, embracing their hands, and sometimes taking them up in their arms, and carrying them into the House of God, to return to Him their mutual acknowledgments and gratitude.

In their estimation there is no character or office so high as that of a minister of the Gospel, and throughout the different sections of the church in general each thinks his own minister the best, and loves him the most. They esteem their ministers "very highly in love for their work's sake;" seldom speak disrespectfully of them, and are never more offended than when they are spoken lightly of by others. Having great respect and love for them themselves, they endeavour to inspire their children with the same sentiments and feelings. In cases where violence has been threatened or attempted towards them the whole surrounding country has been in a state of excitement; and in cases of death the scenes exhibited and the emotions excited are such as to exceed description. On some such occasions thousands have attended at the last sad offices, whose tears and lamentations could not fail to excite a sympathetic feeling in every bosom. A missionary, writing to a friend in England, thus describes one of these deeply affecting scenes. It occurred at the fune-

ral of the late Rev. F. Gardner, of Kingston.

"At the dawn of the following day when I arose I found it difficult to persuade myself but that the actual bereavement was a dream. I had, however, mournful evidences to the contrary in the looks and gestures of those whom I met upon the road. Still more substantial proofs of the reality forced themselves upon me in passing along the streets of Kingston; but on entering the mission-premises at East Queen Street I was not to be mistaken. Oh! what a heart-rending scene did I there behold!! The yard was full of mourners; multitudes hung about the doors and windows, and the house seemed crowded. How was I to encounter the sighs, and sobs, and tears of the motley mass? But there was no time to hesitate. I tried to force myself through the crowd without engaging an eye or exchanging a word. It was in vain. I was surrounded—I was unmanned; whilst the cries of 'So me dear minister is gone,' uttered in anguish, seemed to unstring every fibre of my heart and loosen every nerve.

* * *

"At length the hour appointed for the interment arrived. I need not describe the funeral procession; suffice it to say that the corpse was followed to its last abode by a train of mourners which, perhaps, either as to number or respectability, had never been exceeded on a like occasion in Jamaica. The deacons, as well as the ordinary members of the church, followed each other in regular succession and in long perspective. With the exception of the convulsive shrieks heard on the first removal of the corpse, and the half-stifled sobs now and then expressed by the crowd, all moved on in solemn silence. The chapel was crowded, and had been so from an early hour. What a scene ensued on entering! The corpse was at length forced through the crowd to the table-pew, and order again restored. The solemn service was commenced by singing two or three verses of the hymn beginning

"What though the arm of conquering death,
Does God's own house invade,"

and closed by an appropriate address from Mr. Tinson. The assembly was so dense that considerable apprehensions were entertained throughout the morning for the

safety of the galleries; but now not less anxiety was manifested for the preservation of that decorum befitting so sacred a place, and becoming those who are taught to 'sorrow not as those without hope.' Every means was used to restrain the torrent of feeling within proper bounds; but, untrained to artificial restraints as are our sable brethren in general, I saw it must soon burst forth into a flood. My fears were realized. The corpse was borne along the aisle to the vault amidst cries, and groans, and other external signs of sorrow that were enough to tear one's heartstrings asunder. In the midst of silence, frequently broken by the weeping of the people, Mr. Taylor gave out a verse or two of a suitable hymn. Mr. Woolbridge prayed, and the corpse was immediately lowered down to its last sad resting-place. Sighs and tears, intermixed with convulsive cries, now became general. Of my own feelings at this particular moment I can attempt no description. I can never forget them!"

Such an astonishing change has taken place in the *individual character* of hundreds of the members of the churches that their pastors could no more question the reality of their conversion to God than they could question their own interest in the merits of the Saviour or their faith in the essential truths of Christianity. Like the members of the church at Corinth, "they were once fornicators, and idolators, and adulterers, and thieves, and covetous, and drunkards, and revilers, and extortioners; but they have been washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God."

From the previous state of society in Jamaica, almost every individual who has been united in church-fellowship has exhibited a most striking change, both in character and conduct, while in many that change has been so great as fully to exemplify the sentiment—

"Lions and beasts of savage name
Put on the nature of the lamb."

As an illustration the author will mention two or three instances, out of many, which have come under his own observation. A middle-aged female was a professed teacher of the obscenities practised at the Christmas carnivals, and other nightly revels.

She had a house on the outskirts of the town, into which numbers of the young of both sexes were decoyed, to the ruin both of body and soul. Dancing, revelling, and the din of savage music were here heard from week to week, and usually from Saturday evening until Sabbath morning, throughout the year, and not unfrequently during the whole of that sacred day. About sixteen years ago she was induced to hear the Gospel. It came home to her with power and the demonstration of the Spirit. Her haunt of sin was immediately abolished, and her guilty honours and gains at once abandoned. Not long afterward, accompanied by a Christian friend, the writer called to see a female of his flock who was in dying circumstances. On entering the house he distinctly heard the voice of a female in prayer in an adjoining room, and approaching nearer, joined in the devotion. Never can he forget the occurrence—never before did he hear such a prayer. The rich experimental piety which it breathed, its appropriateness and fervour, together with the responses it drew forth from those who were present, seemed to render the chamber of sickness, obscure as it was, the very gate of heaven. When they rose from their knees, his friend exclaimed with astonishment, "Who can it be? It is some black, or coloured, female?" It was soon ascertained that it was this very individual—"this brand plucked from the fire." Immediately on her conversion, she began to do what she could to counteract the influence of her former wicked life, and from that time to the present, in addition to a most exemplary walk and conversation, she has been pursuing the same benevolent object with a steadfastness of purpose and success truly astonishing.—Another was the queen of the sets of dancing-girls mentioned in connexion with the description previously given of the Christmas carnivals, and who kept an establishment of a similar kind to that already named. It was, perhaps, less disreputable in its character, but in some respects even more demoralizing and wicked in its effects. She also heard the truth in Christ about the same time, and shortly after, like the woman out of whom were cast seven devils, was found "sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in her right mind," a circumstance which at the time did not fail to at-

tract general observation, and had a considerable influence in diminishing the number and destroying the organization of these depraved communities. Though less calculated for active usefulness than her former accomplice in iniquity, she has in an equal, or even in a greater degree, exhibited the milder graces of the Christian character—"bowels of mercies, lowliness, meekness, gentleness,"—steadfastly "adorning the doctrine of God her Saviour in all things."—A third, a mulatto female, was a person of some little property, and a proprietor of slaves. Of a most overbearing and tyrannical disposition, her conduct towards the unhappy victims of her power was cruel in the extreme. Her house was situated in the country near a public road, and it was proverbial that no one could pass her gate, scarcely at any hour of the day, without hearing the cries and groans of her wretched vassals under the infliction of punishment. Of these none so often felt the effects of her passion as an aged negress, for praying. A missionary went into the parish, in the hope of securing a piece of land on which to form a preaching station. Disappointed in his expectation, through the influence of a white planter and magistrate, he was returning home, depressed in mind at the apparent hopelessness of further attempts to introduce the Gospel into that benighted district, when he was met on the road by this female, attended by several of her neighbours. She heard of his failure, and after expressing herself in strong language against the leading men of the parish for combining to keep religion out of it, requested him to follow her. They ascended a piece of rising ground a little beyond her cottage, and looking round, her eye kindling with animation, she exclaimed, "They want to keep religion out of the parish, but, minister, here is an acre of land; take it, I will give it you; build a chapel upon it; and let them meddle with it if they dare."* The offer was accepted, and her cheerful consent also given to the occupation of her house or premises for occasional services without delay. These services were accordingly commenced; and for some time, in fine

* The motive by which this individual was induced to offer the ground to the missionary appears to have been a spirit of opposition to the white inhabitants.

weather, were carried on beneath the shade of a mango tree that spread its wide branches by the side of her cottage.* She was denounced and threatened for her conduct by the parish authorities, but with the spirit of a true heroine she ridiculed their menaces, and challenged any one to come upon her premises for the purpose either of molesting her or interrupting the worship. On one occasion, when the missionary was preaching beneath the tree to a considerable number of the poor slaves, a party of white men rode up to her gate, at the sight of whom the whole congregation were agitated, and were about to fly into the woods; she immediately advanced towards the party, and shouted to them to come in; but before she reached the gate they had galloped away. The converting and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit soon took possession of her heart; and after several months' probation she was to be baptized, with several others, in a river that flowed along a part of the boundary of her little domain. The ceremony was performed at the appointed time, amidst a great concourse of spectators. The missionary regained the cottage before her. Her aged slave, whom she had so often punished for her steadfastness to Christ, was left at home to make some arrangements for the future services of the day. Scarcely had the missionary seated himself, when the tall withered form of the old African disciple appeared before him as though paralyzed; her eyes alternately fixed on some object out of doors, and her clasped hands directed ecstatically towards Heaven; he sprang from his seat to ascertain the cause, when he discovered among the trees a tall noble-looking female figure clothed in white, approaching the door. It was her mistress. In a moment they were in each other's arms, and the floor was literally sprinkled with their tears. "O, my misses," said the aged slave, "who ever tink me live to see dis day? Blessed Jesus make him poor old neger eye see such a ting before her dead." While her mistress, now no longer a mistress, but a sister beloved, implored forgiveness for her past conduct, and ascribed all the glory of her change to God. A more affecting scene was never

witnessed, and never can be obliterated from the memory. O the transforming efficacy of redeeming grace and dying love! the

"Lion changed into a lamb,
The vulture to a dove."

The tyrant and the slave, one in Christ Jesus, falling on each other's necks and weeping tears of joy! Surely it was a spectacle that attracted the gaze and admiration of angels! Nor has the subsequent conduct of this once depraved and cruel individual deceived the expectations which were formed of the devotion of her heart and life to God. She has been a real blessing to the church, and through a series of years has maintained an unblemished reputation. During the persecutions of 1832 she exhibited a degree of moral heroism, which entitles her to a rank among the noblest of her sex. In addition to other instances of firmness and constancy, she maintained her resolution to keep her house open for the worship of God and the shelter of the missionaries, at whatever hazard, in the presence of the militia force of the parish, before which she was cited to appear in an open field.*

"Her loyalty she kept, her zeal, her love."

Instances of a similar kind, in relation to the other sex, would fill a volume; a single illustration must, however, suffice:—

"A Guinea negro," says a missionary, "whose experience we lately heard, observed respecting himself that from the time he came from the Guinea coast, 'him no able to take word, if any one offend him, me take knife, me take stick, me no satisfy till me drink him blood—now me able to take twenty word;—den me tief, me drink, ebery bad ting me do. Somebody say me must pray—me say no, what me pray for? rum best pray for me—give me something

* This was the origin of the flourishing mission establishment at Jericho, and others in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

* The Rev. J. Clarke, writing at the time to the Society at home, says—"Miss Cooper, the person who encouraged the preaching of the gospel here, was taken to the militia muster-ground, and was threatened by the officers, but allowed to depart without making any concessions to their unrighteous requirement, that no more preaching should be allowed on her premises. She was next, on the 30th of March, taken before a magistrate, and bound over, in the sum of 150*l.*, to take her trial at the next quarter-sessions. On the 7th of April she appeared, and traversed. I then had her case removed into the grand court; and as it was for allowing me to preach on her ground, and attending such preaching, the attorney-general never brought it forward for trial."

good for eat, dat better dan pray.' 'What made you change your mind, then?' 'Massa, me go to church one Sunday, an me hear massa parson say, Jesus Christ came an *pill* him blood for *sinner*. Ah, someting say, you heary dat? Him pill him blood! Ah! so! den me de sinner, me de tief, me de drunkard! Him pill him blood for *Guinea neger*! Oh, oh! Jesus die for poo neger before him know him!'—thinking, as seems quite natural to them, that Jesus becomes acquainted with them just then, because he is just then telling them all they have done."

The crafty Eboe; the savage, violent, and revengeful Coromantee; the debased and semi-human Moco and Angolian, with those of other tribes described by historians as "hardened in idolatry, wallowers in human blood, cannibals, drunkards, practised in lewdness, oppression, and fraud; cursed with all the vices that can degrade humanity; possessing no one good quality; more brutal and savage than the wild beasts of the forest, and utterly incapable of understanding the first rudiments of the Christian religion"—these, thousands of them, are now subdued, converted, raised to the dignity and intelligence of men, of sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty, and are bringing forth the fruits of holiness, happiness, and Heaven.

SECTION V.—Next to the salvation of his own soul, a really converted man is anxious for the salvation of the souls of others. This anxiety is manifested in an extraordinary degree by the churches in Jamaica. It is evidenced by the whole tenor of their conduct. Their feelings are strong, and they "cannot but speak of the things that they have seen and heard." It is an invariable rule in the churches with which the author is acquainted, on the acceptance of a candidate for church fellowship, for the minister, deacons, or members of the church indiscriminately, to enforce upon his attention his duty to do all he can *personally* for the conversion of his fellow-creatures. This is often urged by the deacons of the church with great earnestness; and the similes they employ on these as on other occasions, though homely, are much to the purpose, and seldom fail of

their effect. Said one, "Now you hear what minister say; take care you no boil de pot alone;" meaning that he was not to feast on the blessings of the Gospel himself without inviting his fellow-creatures to partake of them. "Suppose," said another, on a recent occasion, "you were to see a blind broder wandering by de river side ready to fall in an drown, what you do?" "Me run to save him." "But suppose him say, 'me don't goin to drown, you must let me alone; mind you own business; if me drown, it notin to you?'" "Me must keep on coax him till me bring him away." The universal sentiment, indeed, on such occasions is, "We must do all we can to hail poor sinners like weself, sitin in de cave of darkness, to Jesus Christ."

In their *prayers* on this subject they are generally the most animated and interesting, often exhibiting some of the finest instances of pleading with God that perhaps we ever heard. The writer scarcely ever knew an instance in which a prayer was closed without a compassionate reference to the condition, and earnest appeals for the salvation of their fellow-men. In times of prevalent sickness it is by no means an unusual occurrence for those who lead the devotions at the public prayer-meetings to be so overcome by their feelings that their utterance is completely impeded, while the whole congregation is drowned in tears. At monthly missionary prayer-meetings, especially, they often mention the inhabitants of different parts of the world by name. The darkness, degradation, and misery of Africa awaken all their sympathies. Sometimes on such occasions they revert to the scenes of their childhood, the wars in which they assisted, and the circumstances of their captivity, with as much vividness of recollection as though they were only recent occurrences, and manifest an anxiety truly indescribable for the salvation of any part of their families who may be yet alive. Nor do they forget their brethren in bonds, or the guilty perpetrators of the slave-trade, or the missionaries. To such a degree are they sometimes drawn out in love towards their perishing fellow-creatures, that when they can particularize no further, they supplicate, in the warmth of their feelings and with true sublimity of conception, that there may be a "full Heaven and an empty hell; that

they may be saved from going to that place where no sun shine, no tar twinkle.”*

Nor are they content with merely *praying* for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom; they know the necessity that exists for *pecuniary contributions* to this object, and, esteeming it both their *duty* and their *privilege* thus to honour the Lord with their substance, they do so in general cheerfully, and according to their ability. “Hence,” says Mr. Candler, in his Journal before referred to, “my belief is that the Baptists and Methodists, who are in actual connexion, pay for church purposes of all kinds not less than twenty shillings per annum each, yielding an income to these two bodies alone of nearly 70,000*l.* per annum. The other classes of Dissenters from the Established Church depend more on extrinsic support; but these bodies probably receive 10,000*l.* per annum from the people here. These sums, which at first view appear large, are devoted to several different objects; a considerable part is applied to the building of chapels and meeting-houses, which, in this country, is attended with great expense; a chapel for 600 persons costing at least 1500*l.* sterling. The building of school-rooms, and the support of school-masters and school-mistresses is another important item, as the Baptist Missionary Society allows nothing on this head from England, and the other missionary societies only part of the expense; and the day-schools are numerous. Some part of these congregational funds are devoted to the support of the missionaries and their families, several of whom depend entirely on what they receive from the people, drawing no part of their income from the societies at home; and their expenses in some instances are necessarily large, as they are compelled to keep many horses, and travelling in Jamaica is very costly. Then we may enumerate the repairs of buildings, salaries to door-keepers, grants to missionary societies, and the help of the sick and infirm poor.” It is, however, the opinion of the author that this estimate of the amount of individual contributions is much too high. From his own experience and that of his brethren in the

more populous towns of the island, he is convinced that one-half the amount stated by Mr. Candler is as much as is, under any circumstances, contributed by the people.

Every one recognises it as his duty to do something in support of the cause; and, generally speaking, in the absence of real inability from sickness or other causes, this duty is performed; and it is performed *voluntarily* and *cheerfully*.

On the subject of supporting the minister it is a common observation, “Minister no tradesman, no merchant, no lawyer; don't come here to get a fortune; as him work for we, we must work for him.”

Scarcely any object is brought before the churches in vain. The Bible, Anti-Slavery, and Missionary Societies, all secure their hearty co-operation. Individuals who neglect this duty, or whose contributions do not correspond with their ability, are reprimanded by the church, and in all cases are treated with coolness and reserve as guilty of inconsistency or sin. Covetousness, indeed, is regarded as a stain upon their profession—a disgrace upon their character—a disqualification for office in the church.

Some of the Baptist churches have supported their pastors, and to a considerable degree the out-stations and schools in their respective districts, for years; and at the annual association, in 1842, the whole of the missionaries resolved to cast themselves entirely upon their people for support. At the same time they pledged themselves on behalf of their churches to supply pecuniary means requisite for extending the work of God around them, and to some extent, for the maintenance of an institution designed to furnish native agents both for Jamaica, the neighbouring islands, and Africa.

As stated by Mr. Candler, the greater part of the gross amount contributed by the people for religious purposes is given in trifling sums of from three-half-pence to three-pence each, the amount of their smaller coins; and these sums are given weekly. Hence it is the *number* and *continuity* of contributions that swell the aggregate amount; as long-continued rains, descending in single drops, form the inundation, or the separate particles of water, the ocean.

As it is not generally the practice to hoard up money for events which may never occur, and exigencies that may never

* With equal simplicity of language and thought, they sometimes pray—“O Lord, let dy word run from sugar-work to sugar-work, and from coffee-mount to coffee-mount, dat de whole earth may be filled with dy glory. Amen and amen.”

arise, and which might be squandered by others in idleness and dissipation, they give largely and to various objects. They contribute towards chapel-building, the abolition of the slave-trade, the dissemination of the Gospel in Africa,—to their power, yea, and beyond it. In many cases their “deep poverty abounds unto the riches of their liberality.” Among Christians of all denominations it is a frequent case for field-labourers, and individuals in a small way of trade, to give from one pound to three pounds, and four pounds each, to one or other of these objects on special occasions. An aged African female, who obtained her living by the manufacture and sale of a cool and innocent beverage, brought to the author some time since a piece of gold of the value of two dollars (eight shillings sterling) towards the building of a chapel then in progress. Thinking it more than she could afford, he hesitated to accept it. Tears immediately filling in her eyes, she said, “Minister, don’t it a privilege to help on God’s work; and because me poor, minister don’t want me to help? Me been work hard for it; rise early, sit up late, hide up one fippenny, then anoder, till me get to two dollar, den me bring it come to minister; and me must beg minister to take it.” It is common for the poorest class of field-labourers, both male and female, husband and wife, to give from one shilling to four shillings each per month for months together, towards the same objects; and sometimes, when a debt remains upon a place of worship, the congregation propose in a body to work additional hours per day, that they may at once free themselves from the incumbrance. By servants and others the same liberality is manifested. A young woman of colour, residing in the author’s family, who has six shillings per week, a short time ago, after drawing small sums for her support, left in the hands of her mistress the value of four weeks’ service for the African mission, two for herself and two for her aged grandmother; at the same time cheerfully contributing to every other call that was made. On his recent return to England this same individual sent eighteen shillings, the amount of three weeks’ wages, as a present to some children of whom she had previously the charge as a nurse. At a public meeting not many months since a black young man, a sailor, announced, that if it pleased God

to spare him to return from the voyage on which he was then about to embark, he would give fifty dollars towards the African Mission—a pledge which he nobly redeemed. Tradesmen, and others in a small way of business, have been known to give from one to three pounds and upwards repeatedly towards the liquidation of chapel debts; and in some cases the wives of individuals of this class have employed themselves in menial occupations, to which they had been unaccustomed, that they might give the proceeds of it to the house of God. In numerous instances in the country parts of the island the congregations not only contribute towards these objects in a pecuniary way, but also by actual labour, principally in the conveyance of materials. To mention but one instance, of the many that could be selected, as a specimen. The entire church and congregation at Sligoville devoted one day in the week to this object, each class labouring in succession, and often conjointly. They thus conveyed almost all the wood materials, and no inconsiderable portion of the other requisites to the spot, bearing the more ponderous timber on their heads up an acclivity along narrow and almost inaccessible paths from the woods, full three miles distant, and carrying the rest from Spanish Town, a distance of twelve miles of steep ascent; thereby, on a moderate calculation, contributing in cheerful, energetic, voluntary labour, and that in addition to monthly pecuniary donations, the sum of three hundred pounds.

To these evidences of genuine piety may be added another, without which the former would be but of little avail. They dedicate *themselves* to God in body, soul, and spirit, and unite their efforts with their contributions and prayers. Among some of the denominations, and probably in a greater or less degree among all, it is thus with inquirers and catechumens, as well as members. A negro convert cannot but tell of “how great things the Lord hath done for him.”

The Jamaica churches in general are essentially missionary churches, and each individual of which they are composed regards it as a sacred duty to do something to promote the glory of God, in the salvation of his fellow-men. Every one especially aims at the conversion of those with whom he is connected—his relatives, his

friends, his children, his servants. Male and female, young and old, rich and poor, are thus employed. They are not only *all* at work, but it might almost be said, always at work—not only every day, but almost every hour in the day. The work of God is their employment, not their recreation. “And whatsoever their hands find to do they do it with all their might,” taking advantage of every favourable occurrence that presents itself. Whether in the market, in the field, or on the public road, they seldom neglect an opportunity of speaking a word for God, and this they do with cheerfulness, and without hesitation or apology. To facilitate these operations, and to give them organization, as well as to secure vigilant and proper oversight, a special native agency is employed by some of the denominations termed leaders and helpers. In addition to the employment of leaders, the Wesleyans and Baptists make use of tickets. The system pursued by the Wesleyans is the same as that in operation among them at home. The practice of the Baptists in some respect resembles it. It is indeed a departure from the custom of the Baptist churches in England and elsewhere, but was adopted in consequence of the law in force, during slavery, prohibiting ministers of religion visiting estates without permission from the persons in charge. It was, in these circumstances, found essential to a successful prosecution of missionary work. Where the churches were large it was considered also so advantageous to their purity and increase, that it has been continued, with slight variations, to the present day. The leader is selected from the most pious, intelligent, and otherwise best qualified members in a particular district, and is appointed to assist the minister in the performance of his pastoral duties, by watching over the members committed to his charge, and by assisting in the work of God in general. For these purposes they visit the sick, and report their condition to the church meetings; hold prayer-meetings; meetings for exhortation, and endeavour to advance religion generally throughout their district. Tickets, which are oblong pieces of card-paper, containing the date of the year, the initials of the different months or quarters, and sometimes a passage of scripture, are given to members and inquirers—to inquirers to secure their regular attendance

on the various means of grace, to bring them under strict spiritual supervision, and to afford the minister an opportunity of seeing them personally once a quarter, when such tickets are renewed or exchanged, and to enable him to ascertain the regularity, or otherwise, with which they discharge their external duties. They are given to the members, for the additional purpose of guarding the table of the Lord from the intrusion of improper characters, and as a guarantee to Christians of the same faith and order of their good character and standing in the churches to which they belong. In further pursuance of the plan adopted by the Wesleyans, contributions of the people to the several objects of the station (amounting to sixpence each or upwards) are usually given at the time these tickets are changed or renewed. The practice, however, varies in many respects with almost every church and congregation.

Whenever any of the more private members succeed in awakening religious concern in the minds of others, they usually introduce them to the class to which they themselves belong, and to the house of God. After a term of probation such individuals are usually brought up to the minister by their respective leaders, as new recruits (so sometimes pleasantly called), for tickets, and to be enrolled in the list of inquirers, the minister at the same time conversing with them, and endeavouring to ascertain their sincerity.

Every member of each class endeavours to increase his own numbers, and manifests especial concern for the consistency and spiritual improvement of those he has been instrumental in bringing to a knowledge of the truth.

When strangers are seen in the house of God they are uniformly treated with kindness, many vying with each other for the honour of securing them as an addition to their lists. They are conversed with, and most probably invited to attend a social prayer-meeting held during the interval of worship or at the close of the day. This done, attention and kindness are renewed, and the result almost invariably is, that the individual becomes an inquirer.

In cases of ungodly neighbours, and others suffering under temporal losses, relative bereavements, or personal afflictions, the members and inquirers indis-

criminally visit them, proffer their assistance for domestic purposes, and in some cases relieve necessities that may exist. At the same time, while the heart is tender and susceptible of impression, these poor people talk to their afflicted friends, pray with and for them, repeat their visits and efforts, sometimes invite the attendance of their minister on these objects of their solicitude, and, under circumstances of hopeful recovery, obtain from the latter a promise of attendance at the house of God. In the one case it is not unusual for a Christian negro to bend the knees of an inquiring penitent and teach him to pray for himself; in the other, to watch the impression produced upon his mind by the sermon, and to enforce the great truths of it upon his attention afterwards, and thus persevering until (which is a frequent case) their efforts and prayers are crowned with a blessing from on high.

Exclusive of regular class-meetings, it is a practice for members to hold prayer-meetings in each other's houses, to which, in pursuance of the same great object, they invite their neighbours, friends, or any strangers who may happen to be passing by. Tradesmen, pedlers, and even servants removing from one family to another, or to any other part of the island, act upon the same principle, so that efforts for the salvation of their fellow-men constitute, in a word, the great work of their lives—their calling—some actually making it their business, as frequently as opportunities occur, to go from house to house, from estate to estate, and from the town to the country, for this purpose.

The effects of such exertions in some instances would almost exceed belief. An aged black man, from a property six miles distant, hearing Mr. Coultart preach in Kingston soon after his arrival, was savingly converted to God, and beginning immediately to tell "what a dear Saviour he had found," was instrumental in the conversion of between 100 and 200 persons who contributed to the origin of the church at Spanish Town. Numbers of these yet survive, and have, through a long course of years, sustained an honourable Christian character. Two of them, now far advanced in life, have been deacons of the church at Spanish Town from the period of its formation, upwards of twenty-five years ago, to the present time, their characters un-

sullied by a single stain, and having their names enrolled in the chronicles of heaven as among the most devoted and useful, as well as the most faithful and devout of the church below.

A respectable coloured female, resident in Spanish Town, who has been a member of the same church nearly the same length of time, and who has also maintained an equally unblemished reputation, has been the instrument in the hand of God in bringing upwards of a thousand persons under the sound of the Gospel, and thereby to the footstool of mercy and the fellowship of the church, who, humanly speaking, but for her efforts, would have lived and died without hope and without God in the world. Though scarcely possessing sufficient means for her support, she has devoted the last twenty years of her life almost wholly to the work of God. It is her meat and drink. From day to day, and from year to year, is she found inviting sinners, encouraging the penitent, devising and superintending plans for the conversion of the young, sheltering the persecuted, warning the careless, and endeavouring to reclaim the backslider—labouring almost night and day, and that often with a perseverance and courage, under adverse circumstances, which at once evinces the purity of her motives and the integrity of her heart.

Instances of similar self-devotion are so common that it is difficult to make a selection. The following relates to an aged black female in the country. She invited the ministers of the Gospel to preach in the village in which she resides, accommodated them, assisted in and superintended the erection of a place of worship on her own premises, travelled around the neighbourhood to invite sinners to attend it, and oftentimes stood at her door by the roadside, particularly on a market-day, and addressed almost every individual who passed by on the subject of his eternal interest. She frequently devised expedients for detaining some of these passengers, addressing them with a natural eloquence and fervour truly astonishing. Under her vivid and powerful representations of the love of Christ, and the base ingratitude of sinners to him in return, the writer has seen the tear of penitence roll down the cheek of the persons addressed, and then has he seen her lead them to the house of prayer, and heard her almost agonize with

God that he would break still more their rocky heart, and make them give themselves up at once and entirely to the Saviour. Regardless of persecution or temporal loss, she would even address white people on the subject of religion, and few of them could gainsay the wisdom or spirit by which she spake; and through her instrumentality, directly and indirectly, hundreds have put on Christ, by an open profession, who have generally adorned it by a consistent walk and conversation.

Some years ago an intelligent servant, then a slave, who was a member of the church at Spanish Town, came to her minister in great concern, saying she was about to remove with her mistress and family to Falmouth, where she would be deprived of all means of spiritual instruction. Her minister presented her with a Bible, and, knowing her ardent love to Christ, and her zeal for the promotion of his glory, encouraged her to hope that she might be taken there, in the providence of God, to open the way for the preaching of the Gospel in that town and neighbourhood, at the same time recommending her to exert herself to the utmost for this object. She did so, seizing opportunities as she could obtain them from her daily work. She talked to her fellow-servants, went from house to house on the same errand of love, held prayer-meetings, formed a class, and so successfully persevered in her benevolent efforts that in the course of two or three years she collected a number of between 200 and 300 souls, whom she presented to the missionary who first opened the station as her children in the Gospel. After some further probation, and an investigation of their character and qualifications, the greater part of them were baptized, and formed the origin of the church at Falmouth. Among the first fruits of her pious labours were two of her fellow-servants, who were baptized by the author in Spanish Town, whither they had come with their master on his annual visit as a member of the council. One of them was chosen a deacon of the church at Falmouth, and both himself and this devoted woman have ever since been among its most useful members and distinguished ornaments. Several cases have occurred in which female servants have been instrumental in the conversion of their mistresses. The writer is personally acquainted with six such cases;

two were wives of clergymen of the Church of England, and the others ladies of equal respectability, while numbers have been induced to go to the house of God as the result of the importunities of their dependants. The influence of pious servants in this respect among the higher and middling classes of society in Jamaica will never be known until the resurrection of the just. Finding their inspiration in their theme, it may be said of the devoted people that, "Daily in the Temple and in every house they cease not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Similar to the plan pursued by the ordinary members of the church is that adopted by Sunday-school teachers. They endeavour to increase the prosperity of their schools by personal visits and applications for scholars, seeking after absentees, and visiting the sick. At a suitable age the children are taken from the schools, and formed into Bible classes, which are placed under the care of respectable and intelligent members of the church. Thus all classes receive individual attention and personal instruction. "Each sapling is trained and nourished until it becomes a tree."

SECTION VI.—Satisfactory to every real Christian as must be such evidences of the real piety of our Jamaica churches, there is yet another to be added which is perhaps still more interesting and decisive. Thousands have proved the sincerity of their profession, and the firmness of their confidence, on the day of affliction and in the hour of death. These are seasons when the *reality* of religion is brought to the *test*, and no where is it more severely tested than in a land where sickness so often terminates fatally, and with so little warning. The experience and conduct of Christian negroes and their descendants under such circumstances have been truly astonishing. Their uniform calmness, their patience, their resignation, their deep spirituality of mind, their ardent relish for holy conversation—all indicate the existence of divine and holy principle.

Calling on an aged and devoted deacon of the church who was confined by sickness, and discovering a sadness in his countenance, his pastor inquired the cause. He replied, "I am like the Apostle minister was preaching about lately. I have no

wish to stand longer in this sinful world. I desire to be with Christ, which is far better. But sometimes, when I think of the family (his class), my heart sinks; some of them are careless and upstart, and I am obliged to coax them; but if another one come, who don't know their temper, may be, they get vex, and so scatter about and forsake the fountain of living water! But"—(here he paused, and, detecting the spirit of self-sufficiency which dictated the latter sentence, he added)—"but who is me, poor old man, God cannot take care of him own if I am dead? You see, minister, how my wicked heart and the devil work." Here he looked upward, and ejaculated for more of the grace of God, to keep him humble, and that his eye, as he expressed it, might be kept more steady on "precious Master Jesus."

Another, under circumstances somewhat similar, after manifesting a full assurance of hope as to her own interest in the merits of the Redeemer, said, "There is but one thing that troubles me; I have not been so faithful to the souls committed to my care as I ought to have been. O, if I should have ruined any by my neglect! This is the only thing I desire to live for, that I may labour to show them more of their own sinfulness—their need of more entire dependence upon the righteousness of Christ, and more of the Holy Spirit's influences, to renew and sanctify their hearts. I have sometimes fretted when any of them have walked contrary, and have been ready to give up the work; but I pray my Heavenly Father to forgive me, and try me again, if it be his blessed will; if not, I am ready to go. 'Father, not my will, but thine be done.'"

Multitudes in their last moments have exhibited a tranquillity which death could not ruffle, and a confidence which the king of terrors could not shake. "That poor man's life must be a misery to him," said a gentleman to a missionary, who was conducting him round a negro village, alluding to an aged negro who sat at the door of a lonely hut, suffering from a loathsome disease. "Poor creature! and he seems to be forsaken by the rest of the people." The old man caught the words, and looking benignantly at the speaker, replied, with considerable animation, "No, me no poor cretur; me family very good, give me someting to eat, and Massa Jesus

too good to me, poo sinner; him give me comfort here" (putting his hand upon his heart).

Minister. "Well, but are you not almost tired of carrying about your poor afflicted body?"

Negro. "No, minister, you poo neger can't tired; me sitten down waiten for Massa Jesus to call; den me go and left me poo body behind." Lifting his eyes up to Heaven, he said with a smile, "There him is; him looking down pon me; and it seems like him say, 'keep heart little longer, me soon come call for now;' so, minister, me satisfy. Me bin waiten-boy for Buckra once, an me bledge to wait for massa time; now me sarvant for Massa Jesus, and me can't patient wait fo him time?"

To one who had been active in bringing strangers to the house of God, and under other means of Christian instruction, but who, it was feared, sometimes betrayed a self-righteous spirit, his pastor observed, "Take care you don't deceive yourself; your heart is wicked and deceitful; and perhaps it is the devil who tells you you will go to Heaven, because you have done a little good to your fellow-creatures." "Me minister," said the dying saint, whose body was rapidly dissolving under the influence of a burning fever; "minister, me tank you, God bless you; give me warning, but no, no. What work me done for God? me poor ting, no; me hang only pon Massa Jesus' precious blood, same like de dying tief who hang upon de cross; me same sinner like him."

"It is a solemn thing to go into the presence of a heart-searching God; don't you feel afraid at the thought?" "Minister sometime read to we about de prodigal son. Him fraid to go back to him fader house?"

"But how do you know that God is your father?" "Me heart tell me so; me tick to him same like de skin tick to me poo dyin flesh; and, minister, Massa Jesus no promise?"

He expired in the midst of convulsive pain—the breaking up of the partition which stood betwixt his soul and the sight of that Being who was present with him in his sickness, and who was about to manifest himself to him in all the fullness of joy.

"We have had much sickness," says a missionary, "among our members of late,

and many deaths, as also some pleasing testimonies of their happy prospects. A poor negro man called to invite me to the sick bed of his friend: I went, there he is stretched upon a mattress which lies on the floor, his hands folded and resting on his breast, with his eyes shut apparently in earnest prayer. After the lapse of a minute or two he opened his eyes, and stretching out his hand, said, 'Ah, massa, you know Adam! here him lie now, me often hear you voice in prayer; me often hear you praise; once more, massa, let me hear your voice. O sing, sing de praise of Jesus once more; and den may be while you sing, me steal away to Jesus.' Placing his wrist upon the finger points of the other hand, and raising his elbow to give the hand a rapid descent, so that nothing could rest upon it, said, 'So the world tan wi me now, it ready to trow me off, but den O me hope, me hope, though me no sure, me will den fall into the arms of Jesus.' Another said, after I had talked with him and prayed, and was leaving, 'Farewell! to-morrow, massa, before sun rise on you, me shall be wi Jesus [so he was]; me shall go singing from this bad world' [so he did]."

"A negro woman at the parish-house, being near death, sent for me. I found her in a very small room on the floor by the bed of her mistress, her mistress standing by. I told her of her worthlessness. 'O yes, me noting worth, me know, but me *must* go to Jesus. So long me do bad, me conduct to Jesus very bad.' I said, 'Yes, you deserve hell.' 'O yes, though me no know what hell mean; but if it mean, me *get* bad for *do* bad, me deserve to get de worst; but me must hope and try Jesus.' 'Do you think Jesus will receive you?' 'Ah, massa, him no lub me when me well! yes, him love me den, now him send sick, *him no going to throw me off now*. No, no! now me sick and near de grave, none care for me poor neger like my Jesus.'"

These are instances of patient waiting and steady confidence on the part of the simple-hearted Christians of our churches—it is true piety displayed by the depth, the sublimity, the moral ardour, the mental calm, the unfeigned reverence, the cheerful affiance, and in the simplicity in which it presents itself to the Father of Spirits and searcher of hearts. The scenes

beheld at such periods are triumphant: oftentimes the faith of the dying, treading the firm ground of the promise, appears at once to enter within the veil, and to lay hold on eternal life, while angels seemed to beckon them away, as if in waiting to convey their happy spirits to the purchased possession. One could scarcely fail to be reminded of Jacob at Penuel, of Moses on the Mount, or of David, and Simeon and Paul, in their expiring moments. An interesting individual of colour, arrested by the hand of death in the prime of life, shortly after a severe relative bereavement, sent for the writer to visit him. In the early part of his affliction, and for many previous years, he "went about to establish his own righteousness, not submitting to the righteousness which is of God by faith." His views became gradually clear and comprehensive, and a short time before he died his mind was filled with joy unspeakable. Looking at his children, who were soon to be left orphans, he said, "For a long time I feared I could not leave them; the thought was like a dagger to my heart; but now I can give them up without a pang; 'the Lord will provide for them.' I can trust his promise, he cannot lie. I am now ready." Then clasping his hands, and looking upward in ecstasy, he exclaimed, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! Why tarry the wheels of thy chariot?" A fit of coughing seized him as the result of this effort, and he ruptured a blood-vessel. A swoon succeeded, from which recovery seemed impossible. But he rallied; and looking around with astonishment on his weeping relatives and friends he uttered at intervals, as his breathing allowed him. "And am I come back again?—Oh, what happiness have I enjoyed! I have been in Heaven! I have heard the angels sing! I have seen the Lamb in the midst of the throne: O, that you could have seen what I have seen! Alas! that I am here again; but it will be only for a moment. This has been but a foretaste of the glory that yet remains—a sip of the river of life; what will it be to drink of it through eternity?" He now summoned his remaining strength, and addressed all present with an earnestness and sweetness of manner almost seraphic, and soon after expired, with a hope full of immortality.

Never before did the writer enter into the spirit of those beautiful lines,—

"When one that holds communion with the skies
Has filled his urn whence these pure waters rise,
And once more mingles with us meaner things,
'Tis even as if an angel shook his wings!
Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide
That tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

Similar to the dying experience of this individual were the last moments of an aged female, who for many years had eminently adorned the doctrine of God her Saviour. Her calmness—her heavenly mindedness—her almost complete abstractedness from the world—her love to Christ, and zeal for his glory, in the salvation of her fellow-creatures, had been long remarkable, but towards the closing scene of her life all the graces of the Spirit seemed matured and ripened. Being greatly respected in the town and neighbourhood, numbers of persons of all classes successively crowded around her bed to take a last farewell. Her chamber seemed the verge of Heaven. She was often in raptures indescribable. These feelings were caught in some degree by her pious attendants, and the intervals from pain and repose were passed in reading passages of Scripture, in singing, holy conversation, and prayer. She seemed assimilated to the spirits of the just made perfect—in a mortal body, indeed, yet detached from mortality—in the midst of her relatives and friends, yet wholly separated from them. The careless and gay amongst her visitors were struck with astonishment at the happiness she enjoyed, and at the fervour and force of her appeals and exhortations to them, and many, as well as the servants about the premises, seemed involuntarily to say, "how sweet and awful is this place! Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." She died singing those beautiful lines beginning—

"See the kind angels at the gates
Inviting me to come;"

in which she was joined, at her request, by the Christian friends whom she had now summoned around her bed.

Numerous instances have also occurred, in which teachers and children in Sabbath-schools, under dying circumstances, have exhibited views of the plan of salvation equally clear, evidences of their personal interest in the Saviour equally satisfactory,

and happiness no less really the result of the transforming, sanctifying, transporting, influence of divine and sovereign grace, than those of riper years. One little black boy, about twelve years of age, for some days before his death was almost incessantly speaking about Christ and the heavenly world. Although almost blind from the effects of the disease of which he suffered, he often sat up on his lowly bed and addressed his school-fellows on these subjects, imploring them to repent and return to God, through Jesus Christ, that they might meet him in Heaven, and otherwise speaking and acting, so as to draw numbers of even irreligious neighbours to the house to listen to his admonitions. Among the last words he was heard to articulate, and which he had often repeated, were, "God is my Father, Christ is my Redeemer, the Holy Spirit is my Sanctifier, and Heaven is my home."

Another, about the same age, whose immediate relatives were of disreputable character, earnestly begged them to send for his minister. Fearing lest his anxiety on this account might accelerate the progress of the disease, a messenger was at length despatched in haste for him. When he arrived the room was crowded with the schoolfellows of the child, who, with his mother and other relatives and friends, were overwhelmed with grief. He immediately recognised his minister, and asked him to pray for him and for his mother, requesting him afterwards to talk to his parent, adding that he could not die happily until his mother made a promise to go to the house of God. Having answered various questions which were proposed to him in a manner that far exceeded expectation, he beckoned the minister to come nearer to him, and whispered, "Mother don't like to part with me, but I don't wish to live; I wish to go to my precious Saviour—to live with him, where there is no sin. I am not afraid to die; I feel quite happy." He then requested his school-fellows to sing. He was asked what hymn. He said "Vital," meaning "Pope's Ode." He survived but a few hours, and then, young as he was, ascended to his Father, and his God.

These instances might be greatly multiplied, but another only must suffice. It is the case of one of the first female scholars in the Sabbath-school at Spanish Town,

and who subsequently became one of its steadiest and most devoted teachers. With the exception of one or two departures from consistency, which her pastor regarded as the effect of her natural liveliness of disposition, and which were painful to her in the retrospect, she gave him no occasion to speak to her in the language of reproof. Her death was among the most tranquil, happy, and triumphant of any that have been recorded. When the writer entered her apartment for the last time, which was after an absence of some months from the island, he found her sitting upon her bed propped up by pillows, awaiting his arrival; and never will he forget the circumstances of the interview. Eagerly grasping his hand, she faintly articulated, "See, here I am, minister, only sitting up waiting your return, which I have been praying for, and which my heavenly Father has been so good as to allow me to see;" and then lifting up her eyes to heaven, glistening with love and gratitude and tenderness, she exclaimed, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord! O Death, where is thy sting; O Grave, where is thy victory? the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law; but blessed be God who giveth me the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Disease had made rapid inroads upon her once apparently sound and vigorous constitution, and it was evident that death had already begun to execute his commission. It was late in the evening when this visit was paid, and the writer hastened home, purposing to see her again on the following morning; but he saw her no more. During the interval she had resigned her happy spirit into the hands of him who gave it. Shortly after his departure, she handed her Bible to a female friend and attendant, requesting her to read a favourite chapter, after which a verse or two of a hymn was sung, and prayers offered; in the midst of this latter exercise she expired without a struggle or groan. She departed to be with Christ,—sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.

"Night-dews fall not more gently to the ground,
Nor weary, worn-out winds expire more soft,"

Upwards of four hundred persons, including the teachers and children of the

Sabbath-school, followed her remains to the grave; the setting sun, to which the departed bore in one respect so striking a resemblance, bursting upon the procession as it turned an angle of the street, afforded a subject to one deeply interested in that event which absorbed his contemplations, until they arrived at a kind of family receptacle which was embosomed in a clump of trees. By this time twilight had thrown a softened light on every object around—and from the general solemnity of the scene—the many recollections of painful interest it excited, and the rapid approach of darkness, the ceremony was soon performed, and the mourners who had hitherto restrained their grief, or had expressed it in half-stifled sobs, now gave full vent to their feelings, and "dropping tears upon the grave," retired. As previously proposed, the bereaved, and many of the spectators proceeded to the House of God, and there, while the heart was yet tender and susceptible of impression, the minister endeavoured to improve the event. On the following Sabbath he preached a funeral sermon for her from 1 Cor. xv. 55—57, almost the last words she was distinctly heard to utter. There was a crowded auditory, and from the pulpit it presented a truly affecting scene. Although several days had passed away since the removal of their young friend to her long home, the circumstance had lost none of its interest, especially with the youthful part of the congregation. It was evident that they had been bereaved, and they had a heart to feel the loss they had sustained. The solemn service was commenced by singing the 176th hymn in the Sunday Scholar's Companion.

"Death has been here, and borne away
A sister from our side;
Just in the morning of her days,
As young as we, she died."

Pope's Ode, as founded on the language of the text, followed the prayer, and 18th hymn, Book I. (Dr. Watts) succeeded the sermon,—

"Hear what the voice from heaven proclaims
For all the pious dead;
Sweet is the savour of their names,
And soft their sleeping bed."

The verses were sung principally by the teachers and children of the Sabbath-school, and in such a tone of sympathy

and pathos as could not fail to affect the feelings and the heart. Great solemnity pervaded the whole congregation, and from this and other favourable symptoms, reasonable and earnest hopes were entertained that both the event and the circumstances connected with it would be sanctified and blessed to many, both young and old; hopes that were fully realized, as not fewer than seven, chiefly young persons, were savingly impressed with the solemnities of the evening, and are now following the deceased as she followed Christ—ornaments to the Church and blessings to all around them.

"I saw the end of time, the incipient birth
Of the new heavens and new-created earth.
Saw I the negro? Yes, I saw him there
In those bright robes the Saviour's followers wear."

To several of the topics enumerated in this and the preceding chapter much might have been added illustrative, not only of the sincere and devoted piety possessed and exemplified by the Jamaica churches, but also of the great results of philanthropic effort in general which has been brought under review. Such additions, however, the author regarded as quite unnecessary, convinced as he is that no true Christian can reflect upon the statements already made, in connexion with the satisfactory and undeniable evidence adduced, without exclaiming with grateful emotion, "What hath God wrought?" "It is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes."

To give a consecutive view of the various instrumental causes which have contributed to these great results, will be the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTAL CAUSES TO WHICH THESE GREAT RESULTS ARE TO BE ATTRIBUTED.

Abolition of the Slave Trade—Efforts of the African Institution—Of Anti-slavery and Agency Societies—Establishment and operation of Schools—Circulation of Bibles and Tracts—Moral Influence exerted by Missionaries—Their Efforts for the Improvement of the Temporal Condition of the People—Insurrection or Disturbances in 1832 and 1833—Establishment and operation of Schools—Peculiar System of Instrumentality employed by the larger Churches—Spirit of Prayer possessed by the People—The preaching of the Gospel, accompanied by the Influence of the Holy Spirit.

It is an axiom in philosophy that every effect must have an adequate cause. If it

be interesting to the statesman to mark the gradations through which nations, once barbarous and uncivilized, have passed, till at length they have become distinguished for their social refinement, their political or commercial greatness: it cannot be less gratifying to the Christian to trace the various steps which have led to the moral and spiritual renovation of any portion of our race; by which the "word of the Lord has grown mightily and prevailed,"—"liberty been proclaimed to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound."

Foremost in the list of causes which have contributed to this great result in Jamaica is to be placed the formation of the Society for the Abolition of the *Slave Trade*. Almost all the mild and benignant laws enacted for the benefit and protection of the negro slave were of subsequent date to the first agitation of the question by the British Parliament, and may therefore be fairly presumed to have been suggested by that movement. By diminishing the number of the victims of this accursed traffic, the abolition lessened in an equal proportion that amount of ignorance, superstition, and profligacy, which was the necessary result of every fresh importation from Africa.

So long as this nefarious system continued it seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle, not only to social, but especially to moral and religious improvement. Its injurious effects were felt not only by the black, but equally by the whole mass of the white and coloured population. Hence its abolition must be regarded as having materially contributed to that series of events which led to the result described in the preceding chapters. By changing in some degree the relative position of the proprietor and the slave, by awakening in the bosom of the latter a sense of the atrocious wrongs of which he was the subject, and by making the former, for his own interest, more tenacious of the life and comfort of his living chattels, as well as, by leading the degraded African to imitate the manners and customs of his white oppressors, one great obstacle was removed, and the way prepared for the final triumph of civilization, morality, and religion. The abolition of the slave-trade led to the destruction of *slavery itself*. The champions of abolition, in searching for evidence by which to sustain their allegations

respecting the monstrous cruelties and atrocities of the inhuman traffic, discovered that the "half had not been told them," and that even should they succeed in their efforts, the wretched offspring of those already imported would be left, doomed to hopeless and interminable bondage. As the result of this conviction the African Association was formed, one object of which was to collect and diffuse such information as might awaken the public mind, excite its sympathies, and secure its co-operation in the further prosecution of their great and godlike undertaking.

The African Association was succeeded by the Anti-Slavery Society, whose efforts were still more especially directed to the entire extermination of the existing system; and which, by its ample means of information, its effective agency, and well-conducted periodicals, diffused far and wide the horrifying facts it had collected. So deep was the impression thus made upon the public mind that it led, in 1823, to the memorable resolutions of Mr. Canning, and in 1832 to the Apprenticeship scheme. By the better informed of the abolitionists this latter measure, though hailed by many as a boon, was clearly foreseen to be fraught with fresh woes to the unhappy objects of their sympathy. Soon their worst fears were realized; and the report of the missionaries, sustained by the personal observations of Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, Lloyd, Scoble and Stuart, whose statements were reiterated through the land, from the pulpit, the platform, and the press, at length resulted, as has already been stated, in the bestowment of full and complete emancipation.

In order to form a correct estimate of the bearing of this good measure upon the moral and religious condition of Jamaica, it is necessary to bear in mind that it was a blessing bestowed upon a people already prepared for its reception. And by what means had that preparation been effected? By *education*. One of the first acts of missionaries was the establishment of schools: and, long before the abolition of slavery, these institutions had exerted a most beneficial influence over the negro population. It was chiefly by their influence that the long-cherished notion of the mental inferiority of the African race was exploded—that they acquired an increased acquaintance with the word of God—that

they were taught to regard themselves as *men*—rational, responsible, and immortal beings. More acutely than in the days of absolute ignorance did they then feel the thralldom by which they were bowed down. Their unredressed grievances became increasingly palpable, and assumed a dilated form. While education had enlarged their views it increased the sensibilities of their minds: the "iron entered into their souls." In the meantime the instructions of the missionaries, and the precepts of the Gospel which had taken possession of their hearts, enabled them to submit to their condition with patience, trusting to the British people, under God, for that deliverance which they believed to be at hand.

Since that auspicious event, when liberty and hope first dawned in reality upon these long oppressed descendants of Ham, the value and importance of schools have become increasingly apparent. The knowledge they conveyed was the knowledge of the Scriptures—the knowledge of light and truth. Thousands of coloured and black children have drunk at these living streams: while the most salutary habits of virtue were planted and confirmed. The multiplied blessings which they have been the means of communicating compel the beholder to exclaim with astonishment and gratitude—"what hath God wrought!"

Schools contributed in a very considerable degree to promote the *temporal* interest of the people, enabled many of the negro race to find their way into public offices, fitted them to become confidential servants in mercantile establishments, to become subordinate managers of estates, and properties in general, as well as to fill other important situations, to which without these advantages they could never have aspired.

Nor were the *moral* results of education less conspicuous. It inspired feelings of self-respect and self-confidence—taught the people that character was essential—showed them the advantages of civilization—gave them a taste for the enjoyment of domestic life, and created a relish for those pleasures or acquirements which stimulate the industry and transform the aspect and character of society—refining the habits and awakening the charities of the pupils—softening their hearts and restraining their passions. Nor is it too much to affirm that hundreds of interesting young females have thus been saved from prosti-

tution, enabled to form reputable matrimonial connexions, and who are now living in comfort and respectability.

The influence which schools have exerted upon the *religious* condition of the people has, perhaps, never been exceeded in any part of the world. "They have supplied a large tributary stream to the church." In the metropolitan schools, where, during the last ten years, nearly 300 children have been in daily attendance, it is believed that *full one half* have been savingly converted to God,* while the rest have been brought under an influence which may, at no distant period, become productive of the same blessed results. Many of these are now governesses and

school-masters, or assistant missionaries, the latter of whom, in addition to their other duties, carry on divine worship, and conduct various religious services during the week. In the Spanish Town district alone, including female teachers, there are no less than twelve of these pious and devoted agents, irrespective of those who in other parts of the island occupy similar situations.

In Jamaica, schools have already proved emphatically the nurseries of the churches, and to them are the missionaries confidently looking for a succession of well qualified native agents, who shall "prepare the way of the Lord," and proclaim the glad tidings of mercy, not only in the still destitute portions of their own land, but throughout the islands of the west—in Africa, and the contiguous continent of South America.

* "A few years ago," says a missionary, "a gentleman of colour came from the country to reside in Spanish Town, bringing with him a large family of children, which he had by two sisters, his slaves, and begged me to take two or three of them into the schools on the easiest terms the institution would allow. Knowing that he was much reduced in his circumstances, and that the children had been in every sense of the word deplorably neglected, I offered to educate the whole on his paying a trifling consideration yearly for the eldest, a girl, who seemed to be about thirteen years of age. They all accordingly attended the schools, and continued regular in their attendance for several years. Now I have the high gratification to state, that, out of that whole number, *only two have turned out irreligious characters*. Of the rest, one died when a scholar, a most triumphant death; four are exemplary and useful members of a Christian church; and the others, some of whom are still at school, and, with one exception, connected with a Bible-class, already afford pleasing indications of piety. Three of the four just mentioned as decidedly pious are now in charge of schools under my direction, and one is respectably married. Two of the younger ones succeeding next in age are being trained at the Metropolitan Normal School for Teachers; and I am not without hopes that, in a short time, the whole family will be thus devoted and useful.

"Soon after the children were received into the school, the parents also attended the house of God. The mothers almost immediately abandoned their evil habits; and, in the course of a few months, they exhibited such a decided and happy change of heart and conduct that they were admitted as members of the church under my pastoral care. To this day they continue steady and exemplary in their lives and profession. It was my long cherished hope that the father also would prove himself to be a brand plucked from the fire; and by some it is still thought that his repentance was sincere, but his destiny has long since been determined by an unerring Judge. At his decease both the mothers and the children were cast almost unknown and unbefriended on the world; but the latter, from the knowledge which the oldest of them had acquired in the schools of a few of the mechanic arts, as well as of reading, writing, and arithmetic (a school of industry being then connected with the establishment), have, by the blessing of God, supported themselves in comfort and respectability, whilst the surviving parents have abundantly realized the promise of God to those who trust in him, that their bread should be given them, and their water should be sure."

The circulation of the *Scriptures* has been productive of incalculable benefits. It has not only inspired a regard for the word of God, never previously felt, but has greatly increased the demand for its possession, as well as the ability and desire to read it. In a variety of respects it has operated most favourably, not only upon the spiritual but upon the moral and intellectual condition of the people. At first but few of the negroes were able to read; but, once possessed of the Book of God, they could not rest satisfied till they had become acquainted with its sacred contents. In numerous instances the aged and infirm were taught to read by their children and grand-children. Boys and girls from the schools were frequently engaged, after school hours, as teachers of adults; and hundreds, by the mere *possession* of a Bible, were induced to avail themselves of those means of instruction which almost every missionary-station afforded. By obtaining the assistance of others to read it to them, the knowledge of divine truth was also greatly extended. On inquiring of those who made application for Bibles, whether they could read, the frequent answer was returned, "No, but me like to have God's book in de house, so me can look upon it, and it bring good toughts into me mind; make me tink of de word minister preach to we. Me can't read it now, but me hope to read it soon—me goin to get one broder to larn me. Besides, when a broder come to me house who can read, me beg him so read God's

word so me, and den me go call de family to come sit down, and heary it read; and me feel much comfort." Sometimes house-servants have assured the missionary that they wanted a Bible, "because dey would try and get young misses and massa to read it to dem, and den, perhaps, God would bless it to dem all;" and in hundreds of instances has this pleasing hope been verified. To such means, indeed, in connexion with pious example, much of the great change discoverable in the moral and religious habits of the upper classes of society is attributed. The circulation of *tracts* has also been followed by similar results. The various publications of the Religious Tract Society, being very widely disseminated throughout the island, proved instrumental in exciting a thirst for religious knowledge, and contributed to the more general diffusion of divine truth, not only among the negroes, but also in many instances among the white population. During the last few years it was no uncommon occurrence for individuals of the first respectability to send for tracts by their servants, regarding their bestowment as a favour, and expressing the pleasure and profit their perusal afforded. Frequently, indeed, have those who but a few years since would have regarded these silent messengers with disgust and aversion expressed their obligation for the supplies with which they had been furnished. At some of the stations from 10,000 to 12,000 tracts were circulated annually, some of which found their way into every house, both small and great, throughout the district. Every missionary-station was in reality, besides an educational establishment, a Bible and tract depôt, whence rays of light continually emanated to all the surrounding neighbourhood, producing results, the full magnitude and importance of which only the day of final decision will fully disclose.

The moral influence exerted by the *missionaries* powerfully contributed to the change which has taken place. In so depraved a community as that of Jamaica the very presence of such a person was productive of an amount of good which can scarcely be estimated. It awakened many a virtuous youthful association—made many an appeal to the conscience, and excited many a feeling of self-conviction and self-reproach. To the missionary

it was that the negro uniformly looked with confidence for sympathy and redress; while, on the other hand, the master feared that by the same agency his deeds of darkness would be known and exposed to the world. "You have no missionary here to listen to your complaints, or to take your part," was an observation frequently addressed to the slave when his task-master wished to perpetrate some deed of cruelty and wrong.

Being wholly independent of local influence, the missionaries were almost the only individuals on the island who *dared* interfere between the oppressor and the oppressed. Yet in no one instance did they thus interfere, until compelled by the increasing efforts made to frustrate the objects of their mission. When they saw the members of their churches punished for praying to their Maker—when they beheld that accursed system, under which the island groaned, aiming to quench the light of heaven, to close the avenues to the tree of life, and to consign its helpless victims, not only to degradation and misery in this world, but to everlasting torment in another—then, and not till then, did they feel their obligation to attempt its utter extinction, and resolve never to relax in their efforts until their object was accomplished.

Though from the first they had regarded it as their bounden duty to inculcate upon the victims of misrule and oppression, obedience to the civil authorities, and patient submission to their nameless wrongs, yet now impelled by justice, humanity, and religion, they fearlessly published to the world the atrocities they had witnessed, and thus supplied the material by which the philanthropists of Britain were enabled to move the nation in their favour.

As an act of revenge, and as a means of avoiding that crisis which they believed to be at hand, and to which these exposures had mainly contributed, the colonists perpetrated the outrages of 1832, but

"Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat:"

and never was this maxim more fully verified: never did "He who sitteth in the heavens" more signally cause the "wrath of man to praise Him." The very means by which these infatuated men hoped to secure the perpetuity of their system proved the cause of its destruction. This was

the turning point of that mighty struggle, the issue of which had so long been doubtful. No sooner did it become a question whether light or darkness was to prevail—whether God or Satan should be supreme—no sooner was it clearly seen that the cause of negro emancipation was the cause of Christian missions—than sympathies were awakened and energies called forth, before which even *slavery itself* fell prostrate, reluctantly compelled to acknowledge the omnipotence of Him who, at no distant period, and in every land, shall cast away its cords, and break its bands asunder.

But for the destruction of the houses of God, and the attempts made upon the lives, and liberty of the ministers of Christ, slavery, unless it had excited the negroes to massacre the whole of the white population, would in all probability have continued to the present hour; although it must have yielded ultimately to the light and influence of missionary effort.

Thus it may be said that the moment the missionaries arrived on the shores where slavery and its effects existed, did that process commence which infallibly led to its utter extinction, and is now tending to the moral and social regeneration of the country.

Of their influence in this respect, the pro-slavery party were themselves aware. "Education and religion," said a slaveholder to the author, "will make the negroes better men, but they will not make them better slaves."

"It is most unfortunate," says one of the government papers of the day, the great organ and advocate of slave-holders, "for the cause of the planters that they did not speak out in time. That they did not say, as they *ought* to have said, to the first advocates of missions and education, 'We will not tolerate your plans till you prove to us they are safe and necessary; we will not suffer you to enlighten our slaves, who are by law our property, till you can demonstrate that, when they are made religious and knowing, they will still continue to be our slaves.'

"In what a perplexing predicament do the colonial proprietors now stand! Can the march of events be possibly arrested? Shall they be allowed to shut up the chapels, and banish the preachers and school-masters, and keep the slaves in ignorance? This would, indeed, be an effectual remedy.

But there is no hope of its being applied. The obvious conclusion is this—slavery must exist as it now is, or it will not exist at all. If we expect to create a community of reading, moral, church-going slaves, we are woefully mistaken."*

This shameful demolition of the sanctuaries of the Most High, and treatment of the missionaries, in the providence of God was made subservient to other important purposes. Missionary societies became better known to the higher classes of the community, and more appreciated by its apathetic friends. The stream of Christian liberality flowed through a thousand new and previously unproductive channels—the societies more especially interested in it were animated with more wisdom in council, more energy in action, and more fervour in prayer—the sympathies of the whole Christian world were aroused—chapels were erected double the size of those that had been demolished—the means of usefulness were greatly multiplied and increased, and thousands were added to the church.

It was chiefly by the strenuous and persevering efforts of the missionaries also that the *temporal* condition of the people was improved.

Since the period of emancipation, repeated efforts were made to lessen the value of the boon, by oppressing the peasantry in their wages, and by the enactment of equivocal and oppressive laws. These attempts having been rendered abortive by the zeal and vigilance of the missionaries, contributed in no small degree to strengthen and consolidate that hold on their affections which they previously possessed.

It was to defeat the exactions of avarice, which hoped to accomplish its object by extorting labour at an unremunerating price, that the missionaries projected and carried into effect the *new village system*. This system, by creating a feeling of mutual dependence, encouraging industrious habits, and increasing the cultivation of the island, not only added to its general prosperity, but rendered labour more available for the properties near which such settlements were located—an advantage which many influential proprietors and managers have already acknowledged.

The land required for the formation of

* Quoted in the 'Martyr of Erromanga, p. 19.

these village establishments had, in most cases, been first purchased by the missionaries, who also surveyed and laid out the allotments, superintended the construction of the roads and streets, directed the settlers in the building of their cottages, and cultivation of their grounds, supplied them with their deeds of conveyance, formed societies among them for the improvement of agricultural operations, gave them a relish for the comfort and conveniences of civilized life, and improved their domestic economy. They endeavoured at the same time, by every means in their power, to convince these simple-minded people that their *own* prosperity, as well as that of the island at large, depended on their willingness to work for moderate wages, on the different properties around them.

In these labours, surrounded by difficulties, assailed by misrepresentation and reproach, weighed down by cares and responsibilities of no ordinary kind, the missionaries have steadfastly persevered, producing results which have already excited the astonishment and admiration of every conscientious and disinterested man; and which will at no distant period be duly appreciated and gratefully acknowledged, even by those who under the influence of pride or prejudice then most liberally stigmatized them as "enemies of the country."

In all their efforts for the improvement of the temporal condition of the people the missionaries endeavoured to evince the purity of their motives. In numberless instances they prevented the occurrence of insubordination. By doing justice to all parties they settled differences which might otherwise have been productive of the most serious consequences. At considerable personal inconvenience and risk of health, with the certainty of being requited by calumny and misrepresentation, they travelled from one estate to another, for no other purpose than to stimulate the peasantry to cultivate feelings of kindness and goodwill towards their employers, and to exemplify their Christian character by a steady and conscientious performance of their duties, whatever the circumstances in which they might be placed.

It is the most solemn conviction of the writer that they could not have acted with more singleness of aim, with more patriotic feeling, or with a greater regard to the *general* interest of the colony, had their

own happiness, both for time and eternity, been suspended on the result.

Nor was the system of *organization* adopted by the Jamaica churches inefficient in promoting the success of missionary efforts; on the contrary, it was powerfully conducive to this important result. In the words of an eloquent writer, this system may be described as a "combination of the influence of the church acting with resolute energy on a given principle, by given means, to a given end."

The characteristics of this organization are *union*, division of labour, and classification, combined with the most vigilant pastoral direction and supervision. "Its tendency is to correct indifference, to encourage zeal, to nurture talent, to promote union, to insure increase."*

The churches being divided into classes, which are superintended by qualified leaders, each member well acquainted with his duty, and inspired with a holy ambition to excel his brother in performing it; every such society presents a well-disciplined moral phalanx, combined for the especial purpose of making aggressive movements on the kingdom of darkness around them—a centre, from which light emanated to an expanding circumference—a nucleus, from which other churches radiated. Like the celebrated Banian-tree of India, so happily described by our great epic poet:

"Spreading her arms
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

"It corresponded to the manner in which extensive tracts of territory were originally peopled by small settlements swelling into large communities. It was in some respects analogous in principle to the conduct of the apostles themselves, who, hastening from one country to another, planted the Gospel in a short time in many remote points, by which they at once multiplied the probabilities of its surviving, and afforded fuller scope for its being more extensively diffused."

By the operations of this system each individual was led to consider himself a necessary part of the great machine. Instead of regarding himself as a mere attendant, he felt that he had important duties to discharge; duties which, as they in-

* Burton.

volved no small sacrifice of time, labour, and property, identified his own interest and happiness with the success of his exertions, while in a corresponding degree they stimulated his activity and devotedness.

On the tendency of this system of organization it is scarcely necessary to make an additional remark. This must be obvious; it increased the number of hearers and inquirers in proportion to the number and efficiency of the agents employed. As every one capable of exerting himself was included, a church and congregation, consisting of five thousand persons, possessed nearly the same number of Home Missionary agents who either directly or indirectly were habitually employed in promoting its piety and increasing its extent. Such a manifestation of active diligence and lively zeal on the part of the people naturally excited corresponding feelings in the breast of the minister; thus exerting an influence as universal as it was powerful and efficacious; altogether producing results surpassing the belief of those opposed to the system, or who judge of conversions by past occurrences. It was by this agency that new stations were usually originated. The services of the minister were seldom invited until a congregation had first been collected. He was required merely to preach and to take the oversight of the people. His active pioneers regarded it as their duty to secure the attendance of those to whom his attention was to be directed—a duty which was generally performed in a manner which more favoured Christians would do well to imitate.

The frequent social meetings connected with this system were important means of mutual encouragement and edification. They “exhorted one another daily while it was called to-day; edified one another, spoke to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; warned the unruly, comforted the feeble-minded; assembled themselves together, and provoked one another to love and to good works;” and thus “grew in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Nor was this system less useful and important in promoting that spirit of love and union which is in most cases so delightfully apparent. It is natural for a young convert to feel a strong attachment to the in-

strument of his conversion. Especially is it thus with the negro, whose affections are so proverbially strong; and as all, in a greater or less degree, were rendered useful to each other, there was thus engendered amongst them a union of feeling and of effort which no other could possibly have produced. “Not in word only, but in deed and in truth” do they constitute one family; they are all “the children of God by faith.” Bound closely to each other by mutual knowledge, intercourse, and love, “there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female, there is neither bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus.” This organization also secured to every missionary by whom it has been adopted the most valuable assistance in the discharge of his pastoral duties. These agents instructed inquirers, visited the sick, sought after backsliders, superintended funerals, and reported cases of poverty and distress throughout their respective districts. Not only did they share the duties, but in some respects the responsibilities, of the pastor. To a certain extent each individual believer regarded himself as responsible for the interest and honour of religion in the community to which he belonged. In consequence of this he not only exerted himself to the utmost, but was elevated or depressed as Zion prospered or declined; in proportion as his fellow Christians adorned or dishonoured their profession. As an electric shock runs through every part of the chain, so every thing that affected the welfare and prosperity of the church affected in an equal degree every member of which that church was composed.

This system had a most direct and obvious tendency to promote and secure the purity of the churches. Each member being taught to regard himself as his “brother’s keeper,” not only did it induce greater personal watchfulness and circumspection, but many inconsistencies were thereby prevented, while every case of delinquency was speedily known and published to the church.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the advantages arising from the peculiar organization of the Jamaica churches; it may, however, be remarked, that the missionaries by whom it has been adopted are indebted to it, under God, not simply for the continuance, but for the

commencement, of their success. In their incipient operations in the rural districts there was no other method by which a knowledge of divine truth could have been diffused to an equal extent. The missionary, surrounded by influential individuals, as proprietors or managers of estates, who were not merely hostile to his object but who endeavoured, by penal enactments, to prevent any access to the labourers on the different properties, found himself placed in a situation in which he could anticipate but little good from his direct and personal exertions. Hence, no sooner was one of the slaves brought to a knowledge of the truth, than he was employed to bear the glad tidings to others; and this as a matter of necessity, because no other medium so available existed. It was by this means that attention was at first excited, congregations collected, a spirit of hearing widely diffused, and multitudes savingly converted to God.

Many years ago it was estimated by a lay gentleman then resident in Jamaica, who urged it as an argument for missionaries to be sent thither, that there were from eight to ten thousand persons on the island professedly belonging to the Baptist denomination alone. Nearly the whole of these were the fruit of lay agency, and afforded a proof of what might be anticipated by the employment of the same means under a more direct and skilful superintendence.

In every church this agency was superintended by the minister. He was "the centre of the system, planning, improving and directing all its movements," while in every instance its results have been such as to fill his heart with gratitude, and load his tongue with praises. Like the streamlet, which first betrays its silent course by the verdure that adorns its banks, and by the accession of tributary waters, receives an impulse which widens and deepens as it flows; so in every church thus organized did each unit of which it was composed become an element of influence, contributing to the increase, strength, and prosperity of the whole.

Like all human plans and institutions this system has doubtless been abused, though by no means to such an extent as has been represented.* The evils that

may have been found connected with it have arisen not from the system itself, but from the *imperfect manner in which its tendencies were developed*. For many years, and especially during the days of slavery, such were the circumstances in which the missionaries were placed, and so hostile the influences by which they were surrounded, that it was utterly impossible for them to obtain such an efficient agency as they subsequently possessed, or to exercise over it such a direct and vigilant superintendence as they are enabled to do at the present time. If, therefore, the system has not yet accomplished all that it is able to effect, it is to these causes, and to these alone, that the deficiency is to be ascribed. And such is the writer's conviction of its intrinsic worth that he hesitates not to affirm, that if all the evils alleged to be connected with it were collected into a mass, they would prove but as the "small dust of the balance," when compared with the vast and ever-increasing amount of good which has resulted from its adoption.* Let it be but fully carried out with "all diligence" and in a spirit of faith and prayer, and there can be little doubt but that "God, even our own God, will bless us," and the period be hastened when "all the ends of the earth shall fear him."

Greatly is the whole Christian world indebted to the Rev. Dr. Campbell, who in his celebrated prize essay, entitled "Jethro," has so nobly defended the system of lay agency, and so ably illustrated the advantages which would result from its general adoption. It cannot but be highly gratifying to know that other missionary

the pastor, and to promote divisions in churches. The whole of the author's experience is not only against such a conclusion, but in every instance which has come under his observation the effect has been *directly the reverse*. In no part of the world are ministers more beloved or respected than in Jamaica, neither are there any churches which enjoy greater peace and harmony. In one church, comprising upwards of three thousand members, there has been but *one* instance in which a lay agent has taken any improper advantage of the confidence reposed in him, and in which there has been the slightest interruption to the most perfect concord, during a period of twenty years—a fact which (though by no means a singular one) will doubtless have its due weight with the reader.

* "I have often wished to see something like the Methodist class-meetings amongst us in India," said the late excellent Mr. Ward of Serampore, in his Farewell Letters. "No professors on earth need meetings like these so much as men recently brought from heathenism."—*Letters*, p. 244.

* Among other evils resulting from the system, it has been stated that it tends to diminish esteem for

societies, as well as our own, have not only adopted the same principle, but have been favoured with the same success. After speaking of the success which has thus attended the labours of the Moravian and Wesleyan Societies, Dr. Campbell observes, "the London Missionary Society, though last, is not least, in this bright roll; they have much to record on the subject. The history of their achievements in the South Seas is one unbroken narrative of the successful efforts of laymen in uprooting idolatry and turning multitudes to God. The secretary of the Society (Rev. W. Ellis) declares, that 'the islanders have shown the great principle of the Gospel to be one of self-propagation, and the spirit it implants to be one of self-consecration. No sooner did they themselves understand the Gospel, and feel its power in their own hearts, than the prayer was offered up that God would graciously have compassion on the ignorant around; and efforts were made for the purpose of communicating to them that knowledge which they themselves possessed. God has eminently honoured the native Christians as the means of diffusing the Gospel far and wide amongst the nations of the Pacific.'

"That great missionary, John Williams, corroborates Ellis, and says, 'I do not know that the inhabitants of any island, with the exception of those of Tahiti, have been converted to Christianity by the instrumentality of English missionaries; the work has been done by native missionaries. Of course, they are conveyed by us, and are under our direction and superintendence; but they are the men that do the work; and, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that this agency, which God has put into our hands, should be carried on in the most judicious, the most effective, and the most extensive way in which it is possible to conduct it.'*

"These remarkable testimonies (adds the devoted author) to the uniform efficiency and stupendous effects of lay agency in the South Seas, constitute illustrations of our principle, which it is hardly possible to surpass."†

* Jethro, pp. 104, 105.

† "As soon as the chapel was completed at Rarotonga," says the eloquent biographer of Mr. Williams, "Messrs. Williams and Pitman distributed the baptized, and those who were candidates for baptism, into twenty-three classes, each containing from twen-

If the churches of Britain could but be persuaded to lay aside their prejudices and to adopt the same system, how many evils would be prevented; how would their numbers increase; and how much greater would be their moral influence and general prosperity! What Christian pastor feels not the force of Jethro's stirring exhortation: "O brethren! bestir yourselves! Turn your whole souls towards the preparation and arrangement of lay agency. Clothe yourselves with the united power of your people; unite them; classify them. Let them be as one well-compacted body, of which you are the soul. Men of God! animate, arouse, inspire the people! Put in motion the entire mass. Let every church become a spiritual camp, where every man is a soldier; and where all, even the children, know the use of arms! Then will the war of truth be prosecuted in the spirit of its origin; and our beloved land shall yet be filled with tokens of a Saviour's presence, and overspread with the triumphs of a Saviour's power!"*

It has been previously stated that the churches of Jamaica are distinguished by a spirit of frequent, fervent, and persevering prayer. Like the first Christians, "they continue with one accord in prayer and supplication," while their numerously attended meetings for this purpose, the deep and intense feeling which pervades them, the impassioned earnestness with which they pour forth their desires unto God, sufficiently attest, not only the ardour, but the sincerity of their devotion.

And how much this spirit of prayer has contributed to the increase and prosperity of the churches is known only unto Him who has said, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven."† If it be true

ty-three to twenty-eight households. Two of the most serious and intelligent natives were appointed over each class, to secure a regular attendance upon the catechetical instructions of the missionaries."—*Life of Rev. J. Williams*, p. 248. Again, in p. 396, it is said, relating to the same island, "This incipient revival was the more interesting to Mr. Williams, because it could be traced to the instrumentality of the few disciples who had so recently professed their faith in Christ. When formed into a church, these converted natives had been distinctly told by their missionaries, that to sow as well as to reap, to labour as well as to enjoy, were among the primary and principal designs of their association. And these counsels were not lost."

* Jethro, p. 394.

† Matt. xviii. 19.

that "he who has the ear of God has the heart of God;" that "prayer moves the hand that moves the world;" who can wonder that copious showers of blessings should descend upon a people who thus, in congregated thousands, bend before the throne of mercy, "praying with all prayer and supplication in the spirit," not only for themselves, but for the perishing multitudes around them? By prayer have the missionaries been defended in times of danger, sustained and cheered when "sorrow hath filled their hearts." By prayer have sinners been awakened, the desponding comforted, believers "edified and built up in their most holy faith," while around them the "word of the Lord has had free course, and been glorified." Let but this spirit of prayer continue, and we shall not fear for the continued prosperity of our churches. Let it subside, and from that sad moment "Ichabod" will be written upon the walls and portals of our sanctuaries.

"Prayer, ardent, opens heaven, lets down a stream
Of glory on the consecrated hour
Of man, in audience with the Deity;
Who worships the great God, that moment joins
The first in heaven, and sets his foot on hell."

Whatever may have been the separate or combined influence of the causes hitherto enumerated in producing the glorious transformation described in the preceding pages, they would have been comparatively useless apart from the Gospel which "is the power of God unto salvation." The abolition of the slave-trade; the destruction of slavery itself; the establishment of schools; and the various efforts which have been made for the improvement of the temporal condition of the people, would have effected but little, had it not been for this more powerful instrumentality and this still more effective agency.

Of this we have an illustration in the case of Hayti. Though its inhabitants have long been free—though some schools have been established, and civilization has in some degree advanced—though the arts and sciences, the manners and customs of Europe have been introduced, yet but little improvement has taken place in their moral and social state. They remain almost as motionless, indeed, in this respect as if they floated on the surface of a stagnant pool—present nearly the same changeless aspect of intellectual and social condition as they did before they emancipated themselves

from the thralldom of the French. Compared with the happy and prosperous circumstances of the Jamaica peasantry, the Haytians are still involved in ignorance, misery, and guilt—darkness covers this part of the earth, and gross darkness the minds of its people.*

The history of missions proves most conclusively that the Gospel is the only instrument of moral and spiritual renovation:—that this, and this alone, is "mighty, through God, to the pulling down the strongholds" which the Prince of Darkness has erected. In Jamaica this Gospel has been preached freely, fully, and with great simplicity—to a considerable degree in the paraphrastic and metaphoric styles—the preacher dwelling chiefly on its first principles, its most prominent doctrines and duties, enforced by direct and powerful appeals to the heart and conscience.

It has also been preached faithfully. Having secured the confidence and affections of the people, the missionary felt that he could lay open their defects, expose their sins, and exhort them to consistency, without the slightest apprehension of giving offence or incurring the charge of personality. On the contrary, he found that he was beloved and honoured in proportion to his fidelity, not only in preaching, but in guarding the purity and preserving the discipline of the church. The observation was frequently made, "Him is good minister; him don't no child; him tell we plain; him know neger heart well. If we no go right, it we own fault; minister clean from we blood."

The Gospel was preached practically, being uniformly made to bear upon the im-

* "The poet Goldsmith," says Mr. Candler, "in describing the peasantry of Switzerland, has too correctly, and with much greater truth, described the condition of the people of Hayti:—

'Unknown to them, when sensual pleasures cloy,
To fill the languid pause with finer joy:
Unknown those powers that raise the soul to flame,
Catch every nerve, and vibrate through the frame.
Their level life is but a smouldering fire,
Unquench'd by want, unfang'd by strong desire;
Unfit for raptures; for, if raptures cheer
On some high festival of once a year,
In wild excess the vulgar breast takes fire,
Till, buried in debauch, the bliss expire.
But not their joys alone thus coarsely flow;
Their morals, like their pleasures, are but low;
For, as refinement stops, from sire to son,
Unalter'd, unimproved, the manners run;
And love and friendship's finely-pointed dart
Falls blunted from each indurated heart.'

THE TRAVELLER.

portance of bringing forth the "fruits of holiness which are to the praise and glory of God." While the missionary endeavoured to "give to all a portion of meat in due season," his grand aim was the increase of converts, and in this he always calculated with confidence upon the sympathies of his people, who estimated the value of a sermon by its awakening tendency, and the talents of a preacher by his success in storming the citadel of the passions. Having themselves been made partakers of the grace of God, their chief anxiety was that their neighbours and friends might become participants of the blessings which they enjoyed. It was frequently said, and the language describes the general feeling, "Minister show we de right way, and tell we where we can get comfort. Now we want minister to keep on preach, to bring in more sinner. If minister give we little comfort sometime, dat will do; we will try and comfort weself."

Accompanied by the promised influence of the Holy Spirit, this "manifestation of the truth" has been productive not only of its own legitimate effects in the awakening and conversion of sinners, but, by increasing the efficiency of other instrumentality, it has in the highest sense caused "the wilderness and the solitary place to be made glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose." Humbly and devoutly would the writer recognise divine influence as absolutely essential to all moral and spiritual renovation. "Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Without this omnipotent agency the labours of the missionaries would have fallen to the ground. What else could have produced such mighty changes as have been detailed? What inferior power could have softened what was obdurate as the rock, and fixed that which was inconstant as the wind? What else could have influenced the poor African slave, accustomed from his youth to superstition and idolatry, to rioting and mirth, to licentious indulgence and secret abominations, to cast off the works of darkness—to surrender his beloved lusts—to "live soberly, righteously, and godly," "counting all things but loss that he might win Christ, and be found in him?" What but the enlightening,

softening, converting Almighty operation of the Spirit of God? It is this which has excited attention—aroused the dormant faculties—subdued and overcome the "bondage of corruption," and caused those hearts which were once barren of all good, and prolific only of evil, to bring forth in rich abundance the fruits of holiness, happiness, and heaven. "Every spot on the surface of the globe that is enlightened—every waste place that is reclaimed—every idol that is renounced—every heart that is renewed—every ingredient that is shed into the cup of human enjoyment—is a new and striking evidence of the power and operation of the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts"—is wholly the triumph of Christianity. "Not unto us, O Lord: not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake."

CHAPTER XVIII.

INCREASED CLAIM OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, ESPECIALLY ON THE SYMPATHIES AND BENEVOLENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD.

Magnitude of the Objects—Past Success—Condition of Africa, St. Domingo, and other neighbouring Islands; South America—Increased Facilities which these Fields of Labour afford—Sympathies manifested by the Churches in Jamaica—Demand for these Objects on the Christian Public—Sinfulness of Neutrality in such a case—Motives—Way in which this Cause is to be especially promoted.

THERE is nothing in the whole compass of human enterprise that can for a moment be compared in magnitude with Christian missions. Smiling on every design which contemplates in any way the improvement of the human race, it is their distinguishing glory that their energies are directed primarily to the promotion of the dearest interests of man; that while they do not overlook the fleeting circumstances of time, they have emphatically to do with the infinitely more weighty considerations of eternity. Stretching far beyond the narrower limits within which religious benevolence has been wont to confine itself, these noble institutions embrace all nations, aim, with a godlike generosity, to remove every badge of degradation and disgrace from a prostrate and enslaved

world, and to raise the vast and ever-multiplying family of man to holiness, happiness, and God. What is there in the whole range of human ambition that does not vanish before the majesty of such a design? The dazzling splendours of royalty, the flattering conquests of the hero, or even the beautiful researches of the philosopher, sink into utter insignificance before it, while philanthropy itself is constrained to acknowledge the supremacy of an enterprise which seizes with so strong a grasp both upon the present interests and future destinies of men.

A purpose so completely in unison with the perfections of Jehovah, and in such vital sympathy with the spirit of his word, especially with the Gospel of his grace, could but commend itself to the approval, and attract the blessing, of the skies. The genius of Christian missions is divine in its origin, and has therefore enjoyed the fostering care of its Father who is in heaven. The degree of success, moreover, which it has pleased the Great Head of the Church to vouchsafe to his servants has exceeded the bounds of rational expectation. A thoughtful survey of the vastness of the work, and of the prodigious difficulties with which it was crowded, could not fail to moderate the anticipations of every reflecting breast. Whatever might have been the dreams of some sanguine and superficial minds, the great body of the Christian church must have entertained subdued hopes, and sometimes have felt the predominance of overshadowing fears. It was in this spirit, as has been before intimated, some of the more distinguished labourers in this mighty design entered on their work. After a suitable trial of the faith and patience of His people, the Lord of the harvest appeared, and condescended to bless their efforts in so signal a manner as to awaken mingled astonishment and joy. In a comparatively short period, in the interesting island of Jamaica—one corner of the great missionary field—200,000 souls who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death were savingly converted to God, and emerged into the radiance of the Sun of Righteousness. Let it be borne in mind that this blessed army have not merely been brought into the enjoyment of the outward privileges of the Christian religion, have, in the judgment of charity, been

“renewed in the spirit of their minds, and become the genuine disciples of Him, after whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.” “Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows?” Nor is the blessing of God confined to one scene of missionary exertion; it attends his servants wherever they go. In other parts of the western archipelago the seed of the kingdom is abundantly springing up; the icy regions of the north are gladdened by the genial influence of “the truth;” the islands of the southern sea have received His law; the mighty superstitions of India are tottering before the presence of the cross, while in Burmah, and even in China, with its teeming millions, the deathlike silence which has reigned for ages is disturbed by the footsteps of Him who, as he advances, creates all things new; the enemy has already been driven from some of those strongholds which once were deemed impregnable, and many a field of arduous conflict is now strewn with the weapons of opposition and the emblems of success. Had the attempts of faithful men to invade the territory of the Prince of Darkness, and to spoil him of his prey, been apparently useless, it would be, nevertheless, an indication of cowardice, and dereliction of duty, to retire from the conflict; but with what cheerful energy and quenchless devotion does it become the Christian church to address itself to a work which God has condescended so signally to own and bless!

Encouraging as are the positive results which have already followed from Christian missions, little comparatively has been effected. It becomes us to bear steadily in mind that the sublime work is only begun; that but partial inroads have been made on any part of the enemy's dominions, while there remains a vast amount of territory hitherto unvisited and undisturbed. Surely, notwithstanding every indication of success, it must be felt that we have but just entered on the field, while eight hundred millions of our fellow-men remain involved in superstition, misery, and guilt, thousands of whom are daily passing the boundaries of time, with no eye to pity and no hand to save.

The map of the world spread out beneath the eye of the Christian philanthropist presents an appalling region of moral desola-

tion. What unrelenting tyranny of error ! What horrid and disgusting scenes of imposture ! Every devout heart must thrill with agonizing emotions, and every enlightened imagination recoil, overshadowed with gloom, from a scene throughout which death reigns with such unlimited sway. China is enthralled and bowed down by a grovelling and debasing superstition. Persia, Arabia, and Asiatic Turkey groan beneath the dominion of the false prophet. The teeming myriads of Hindostan are still wedded to loathsome idols. Africa lies involved in a darkness as profound as that which veiled Egypt during the prolonged and fearful night, when no man knew his brother. "Instruments of cruelty are in her habitations ;" her dismal altars are at this moment streaming with human blood, and groaning beneath the weight of murdered victims, while her strength is consumed by intestine wars and merciless oppression. "Awake, awake, put on thy strength, oh Zion !"

Throughout these mighty portions of the globe, this darkness and wretchedness prevail, relieved only by a few scattered rays which have been kindled by missionary zeal. Nor in crossing the broad expanse of waters to the islands of the west do we meet with any material improvement in the scene. Here and there, it is true, the gloom is irradiated by the light of Christian truth, but it is only as the morning star to the benighted traveller, when he first beholds it emerging from the thick shades that surrounded it, or but as the faint glimmering of the glowworm under the black canopy of night ; whilst throughout the confederated states of the Mexican Union—throughout, indeed, the whole extent of South America, and no inconsiderable portion of the north of the new hemisphere, successive generations of rational beings are perishing for lack of the bread and the water of life.

"They read no promise that inspires belief,
They seek no God that pities their complaints ;
They find no balm that gives the heart relief,
They know no fountain when the spirit faints.
O ! could I picture out the full effect
Of that soul-withering power, Idolatry,
I'd write a page which whoso dared to read,
His eye, instead of tears, in crimson drops should bleed."

And cannot this wretchedness be expelled, and this vast howling wilderness be revived and beautified ? Are there no means by which St. Domingo and other

islands of the western world, still under the influence of the Prince of Darkness, can be aroused from their lethargy of sin ? Are there no means by which they, with the out-stretched continent of South America, can be raised in the scale of nations, and brought into fellowship with the Father of their spirits ? Are there no means of healing the distracted heart of Africa ; of restoring her to liberty and light, to holiness and happiness ?—Yes ! By the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God" we can regenerate the world.

The honour of Christ, which has been so essentially promoted by the aggressive efforts of his servants, is vitally identified with the increase of his subjects. It is scarcely possible to conceive of a heavier calamity than the annihilation of Christian missions. By such a catastrophe the dawning hopes of an expiring world would vanish, the strength of the church of God would decay, and the glory of the great Redeemer would suffer an eclipse. Unbelievers, emboldened in their rebellion, would reiterate the cry, "Where is the promise of his coming ?" and the god of this world would reascend his tottering throne. The same disastrous results would flow in their measure from any relaxation of effort. The cause admits of no inglorious repose. The armies of the "Lord of Hosts" are committed to a grand struggle with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places, with the rulers of the darkness of this world ; nor can they halt without involving themselves in everlasting disgrace.

The question, as to the reasonableness and probable results of the bold attack, which arose before they entered on the conflict, has been set at rest. It is no longer dubious whether the warfare shall commend itself to the divine approbation, and shall be carried on under the shield of omnipotent protection. The kingdom has already been partially given to the saints of the Most High. "He that is feeble has become as David ; and the house of David, as God and the angel of the Lord before them." The great Captain of salvation has tasted the earnest of his triumphs, and waits with divine solicitude for their completion. A fearful responsibility rests upon his disciples, and magnificent achievements wait upon their fortitude and zeal. The example of their devoted ancestors is be-

fore them. His angels, whom he "maketh as spirits, and his ministers as flames of fire," anxiously attend them; and nothing remains but that they push their conquests on every side, put to rout the armies of the alien, and, animated with love to Christ and care for the souls of men, in the name of the Lord in every land lift up their banners.

In this glorious enterprise there is every thing to encourage our hope and to stimulate our zeal. Increased facilities present themselves on every hand, and new spheres of labour are opening before the messengers of the Gospel of peace. Aware of their degradation, and perceiving the influence of Christianity as taught by the missionaries in Jamaica and other British islands around them, the inhabitants of Hayti have invited the servants of Christ to their shores, promising the utmost protection to their persons and all possible facilities for their work. They are beginning to look upon missionary stations and schools as necessary to enable their beautiful island to occupy its proper place among the nations of the earth. The messengers of religion would meet with more respect and countenance from the authorities resident there than from those in most other parts of the world. Deeply interested in the struggles of the philanthropists of England for the freedom of their brethren, they would vie with each other in expressions of kindness towards any missionaries who might visit their shores, since they are well aware that the invaluable boon of liberty, so lately conferred on thousands of their coloured brethren, is mainly to be ascribed to their exertions. Even here the ground has already been broken.* (The

* It is but due on the part of the writer to state that during a visit at Cape Haytien, and its neighbourhood, in January, 1842, nothing could exceed the kindness with which he was treated by the highest authorities and most respectable merchants of that soon after devoted city, to whom he was introduced. On authority of those individuals, chiefly, with whom he had considerable intercourse, he has made the above statements. As another result of the author's inquiries, he found that a Baptist church already existed at Port-au-Prince, and in answer to a communication inquiring into their condition and circumstances, he received the following letter from some of its members on behalf of the whole :—

"Port-au-Prince, May 15, 1842.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"Your truly interesting and friendly letter came safe to hand, which afforded us satisfaction to learn that our brethren from afar had such sympathy with us as to offer us assistance after knowing our situa-

Wesleyan Society has long had some invaluable agents in Hayti, men whose qualifications for the trying post they have had to occupy have never been surpassed.)

Among other favourable occurrences the ports of Jamaica have been recently thrown open to Haytian commerce—an act of justice that has inspired with grateful sentiments some of the most influential citizens of the republic. "England has given another proof of her generous sympathy with Hayti, which is to us a matter of sincere rejoicing. It will tend to extend our commerce, consolidate our prosperity, refine our manners, establish our political education, bring us the greater blessings of Christianity; and lastly, to honour and happiness."*

Whilst Providence is yet more fully preparing the way before us in the islands of the West, vast continents are beckoning us to their coasts. Already "Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God." In many of her towns and villages, and islands, the sun of Christianity has risen, while the spectral train of idolatry and superstition are vanishing before its rays. Useful knowledge, the blessings of civilization, and the arts of agriculture, follow in the train of the missionary wherever he goes; and as he advances, "the wilderness rejoices, and the desert blossoms as the rose."

The honoured agents of the London, the Wesleyan, the Church, and the American Missionary Societies have already

tion. We are without a pastor, and have been so for some time. . . . At present there is not more than a dozen of us that meet together, and that not regularly, for at present we have no house in particular to hold our meetings in. About five years ago we had a missionary from the United States, at which time we were in a very prosperous state, but he was called home. After this we sent a pious, worthy man from our own body to the United States, and the board of foreign missions ordained him. He returned and commenced his ministry, and was very prosperous, but it pleased the Lord to take him also to himself, and we are now like sheep without a shepherd. We submit these few lines for your consideration.—i. e., to the wisdom of your body,—and beg you to dictate and give us such friendly advice as might be advantageous. What few there are of us are very poor. If in your wisdom you send a person to instruct us you will not be deceived respecting our situation. We add nothing more, but remain your brethren in the Lord,

(Signed) ISAAC HILL,
WILLIAM PEYER,
SAMUEL JACKSON."

* Extract of a speech delivered at a banquet at Jerusalem, published in the Port-au-Prince 'Manifeste,' November, 1842.

reaped a rich and glorious harvest; and the Baptist denomination has at length heard the cry of her perishing millions, and has gone up "to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Under its auspices an army of Africa's own children, the first fruits of missionary zeal in Jamaica, will, it is fondly hoped, penetrate to the very heart of their fatherland, and plant the standard of the cross on its hoary mountains, and sow the seed of the Gospel along its sterile valleys. The galling chain of slavery was no sooner smitten from the exiled negroes in the west, than their hearts yearned over their neglected brethren at home; and multitudes of them, in the spirit of true devotion, are ready, like the Israelites, to return from the land of their captivity, taking the ark of God with them.* Africa now begins to absorb the sympathies of the whole civilized world. The Anti-Slavery Societies of England and America, the African Civilization Society, the African Institute of France, are all intent on her elevation. So with the whole Christian church. Every thing seems to say that the time to favour Africa is come; that the day of her redemption draweth nigh. She "stands ready to-morrow to receive a hundred thousand missionaries."

Here and there on the South American continent also the light of divine truth has been kindled. Wherever we turn, the piercing cry is heard, "the harvest is great, but the labourers are few." Lovers of social order, friends of education and the rights of man, Christians of every name, ministers of the Gospel of Christ, awake, and further the transfer of missionaries to these benighted lands, but especially to injured Africa. No longer suffer her to weep for her children. Soon let it be said, "Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. And there is hope in their end, saith the Lord, that their children shall come again into their own border."

The obligations of true Christians to dif-

* The Rev. John Clarke, of the Baptist Missionary Society, to whom and his colleague, Dr. Prince, a wide and effectual door has been opened in Western Africa, is now on his way to Jamaica, with the design of conveying a considerable number of pious and devoted black and coloured men as missionaries to that continent.

fuse the Gospel of Christ through the nations of the earth, rise with peculiar propriety out of the system of truth they espouse. The direct commission of the great Redeemer, as well as the more general precepts of His word, fall with all the weight of divine authority on the conscience and the heart, and bind his disciples with the force of law to disseminate the seed of "the kingdom." But in addition to these, and in vital sympathy with them, there is the legitimate influence of the doctrines they receive—a gentle constraining power, mightier than law, which no devout heart can resist. There is not a truth connected with the great evangelical scheme, and received "in the love of it" into an "humble and contrite heart," which does not feed in its measure the springs of benevolence and love; which does not bring into the breast which receives it the element of a new and a better life, and awaken, by its silent ministrations, the holier sympathies and aims. But when the whole range of truths which compose the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God" exert their combined influence on the mind, they "create all things new." Beneath their genial effects the thoughts take an ampler range, the affections kindle with a purer and a diviner flame, and motives are supplied by considerations of the mightiest and tenderest import. The whole man is raised, his moral attitude is changed, his mind beats in unison with the divine intelligence itself, and his heart, like that of his great Master, breathes its solicitudes towards a dying world. The missionary spirit is not a transient fire, kindled amidst heated passion, or an eccentric light escaped from the realms of a bewildered imagination, but the quiet and rational growth of enlightened Christianity; the fair and inevitable result of the cordial belief of the doctrines of the cross of Christ; the beautiful offspring of a power seated amidst the faculties of the soul, silently impelling them to a large and comprehensive morality, and spreading through them a glow of philanthropy that pants to relieve the strongest exigencies of men. "I am debtor both to the Greeks and barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."

Whether the devout believer in revealed

religion contemplate its more awful disclosures, or his thoughts turn to its brighter discoveries, he derives inducements on every hand for unabating efforts to extend its blessings through the world. It is impossible for him to survey the nations wrapt in ignorance, bound in the fetters of degrading superstitions, and "led captive by the devil at his will," without being moved with compassion towards them. Believing them to be under the curse, and exposed to the anger of God, looking on them as they advance in gloomy succession, from generation to generation, to the grave, without knowledge, without holiness, without hope, "his bowels yearn over them in the Lord." If, turning from these sombre reflections on the more dreadful features of their present position, and future prospects, he advert to more inspiring themes, his sense of obligation towards them acquires yet greater strength. The beneficence of the great Jehovah, his unbounded grace in the gift of his Son, the condescending and mysterious advent of the Saviour, his awful agony and victorious death, the efficacy of his sacrifice, and the triumph of his power, strangely deepen the impression. An experimental sense of the incomparable preciousness of evangelical truth, an unpresuming hope of interest in its blessings, mingled with holy gratitude and astonishment that he should possess such treasures, enjoy such privileges, and be animated by such hopes, give energy to his impulses and intenseness to his desires. "Have respect," he cries, "to thy covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." A right state of mind with relation to the claims of heathen lands, like every other virtue, brings a corresponding reward. From the rise of the spirit of missions is to be dated the commencement of an improved condition in the churches at home. It awakened the slumbering genius of enterprise in Zion; it cast the thoughts and feelings of pious persons into a new and finer mould, gave amplitude to their ideas, and materially aided in relaxing the rigidity and exclusiveness of their theology. It drew believers into closer union, and fed the hallowed fires of devotion, which are ever burning on the altars of the church. The energy which has gone forth from the community of the faithful, to the help of those who were ready to perish, so far from being

followed by exhaustion, has been the occasion of renewed strength. As when some stately oak, rising in majesty above all around it, spreads its ample branches freely beneath the heavens, and, as it expands, strikes its vast roots more deeply into the friendly soil, so the vigour of the church has increased since she sought a wider range for her powers. No private Christian, nor any society of godly men, can cherish the higher virtues which are included in enlightened missionary zeal, without realizing the fulfilment of the promise that "he who waters others shall be watered also himself."

Nor need the Christian patriot be indifferent to the great advantages of a more general kind, both civil and moral, which accrue from the widening march of Christian missions. The honour of his country is augmented, its progressive prosperity in some degree guaranteed, and the presence of the God of nations vouchsafed. As it is with individuals, so with communities, when their ways "please the Lord he maketh their enemies to be at peace with them."

But that which invests this glorious cause with its highest interest, in the estimation of devout men, is its inseparable connexion with the honour of the Son of God. Since the attention of the church has been directed to the conversion of the nations of the world a revenue of glory has redounded to him unprecedented in the history of his reign. The sublimity of the conception, entertained by his obscure and unpretending disciples, does honour to a system which repudiates in its extension all civil authority, and mere secular aid; which, unlike every system of imposture, whether political or religious, that has been ambitious of dominion, casts aside the warrior's sword, and the oppressor's rod, and boasts of no armour but that of meekness, gentleness, and truth. That this mighty thought should draw all its nourishment, and acquire all its fitness from the doctrines which he taught, and from the promises which he made: that all the theories of mere reason, or of a boasted philosophy, should be impotent to the vast undertaking, and altogether unprepared to sympathize with it: that no other set of truths except those he disclosed should inspire the generous moral, or possess the requisite might, must surely

redound to his praise! That with those who entertain the loftiest conceptions of his person, and the largest ideas of the scope of his mission, should originate the grandest moral scheme that has ever filled the minds of men: that in proportion as there is a descent from this elevated estimate, the stirring impulse, and the comprehensive intention involved in the idea of missions is weakened and surrendered, cannot but be to his glory! That incidental benefits, better than any direct ones conferred through other mediums, should attend those regions of the earth to which his religion is carried and taught in simplicity and truth: that a spirit of inquiry, an extending range of moral vision, the decay of degrading custom and of bewildering superstitions, freedom, the birth-right of man, with social and domestic improvement and peace, should bless the nations among whom his name is proclaimed, augments his extending fame! That, as his servants have advanced upon the territories of the Prince of Darkness, in whatever quarter of the globe, ignorance and vice and malice and rage have fled before them, and the graces of the Spirit have sprung up in their path; that tens of thousands, as he has been lifted up before them, have cried, "other Lords have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name:" that evidence of the truth of his religion, and the spiritual glory of his kingdom, should accumulate in such masses along the line of Christian missions: that unbelief grows pale, and conviction begins to light up the universal mind: that death and the invisible world should have recorded in all but innumerable instances on their mysterious page, from among all climes, the splendid triumphs of his cross adds imperishable lustre to his crown! "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."

In concert with the more disinterested motives which should impel professing Christians forward in this great cause, they may well be influenced by the recollection of the most limited season within which it is allowed them to labour, and the speedy approach of the final audit, as well as the instituted connexion between their present devotedness and their future reward, "He

that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Who is not ambitious of the plaudit of the descending judge? Who would not aspire to the highest honours of the eternal world? "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

The means by which the desire of the church is to be accomplished have been instituted by the Saviour himself; nor will he permit his people to neglect them with impunity, or to substitute others in their stead. Simple as they are, they are eminently suited to the attainment of their end, and are incapable of improvement by the complicated contrivances of men. They are as ancient as that system of truth they are appointed to serve, and will admit of no extraneous adjuncts or novel devices. The progress of religion in the world, like the growth of piety in the heart, can be served only by spiritual means, by a strict adherence to the laws of that "kingdom which is not of this world." The injunctions of legislators, and the mandates of thrones, may do much to retard, but can effect little to advance, its triumphs. The subtleties of human policy have in them nothing in common with the "wisdom that cometh from above, which is at first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits." The utter weakness of human nature, and the feebleness of its resources, are never more conspicuous than when, passing beyond their province, the potentates of the earth attempt to direct and regulate the higher interests of mankind. They have nothing to do but to unite with the obscurest citizen in subjecting themselves to the divine authority of Him who is no respecter of persons. Nor can any benefit accrue to this great cause from rash innovations, or the plausible expedients of its sincere but too sanguine friends. It is vain to carry the calculations of commerce and the maxims of the world into the Church of God. The effect they produce, however apparently good, is transient and deceptive; they may agitate the surface, but they weaken the centre; may induce a delusive flush of vigour and health, like the influence of powerful stimulants on the human frame, but they induce languor at the heart.

In the ordination of the means by which

to carry forward the interests of truth in the earth, as in the developement of truth itself, "Jehovah has abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence."

It is impossible to attach too much importance in the order of means, to the promulgation of the Gospel in its primitive simplicity and apostolic glory free from all the admixtures of a refined philosophy and useless traditions. The proclamation of the love of God in the unspeakable gift of his beloved Son, the free invitations of his grace and his claims to the obedience of faith, have been instrumental in the hands of Christian missionaries, of all denominations, in winning the hearts of the heathen to his authority; and a conscientious adherence to the same prescribed course will secure for them his increased approbation and sanction. Let but this divine mission continue to be ardently discharged by men of God, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and nothing can withstand it; all opposition will fall before it, as Dagon before the Ark. This is the grand secret by which the world is to be reclaimed, and the vast empire of darkness to be overthrown.

Nor must we leave out of view the necessity of an entire dependence on the agency of the Spirit of God, an habitual reference to those promised influences without which Paul may plant and Apollos water in vain. In conjunction with these stands the wonderful ordinance of prayer, the appointed medium of direct intercourse with heaven, that holy exercise on which it has pleased the blessed God to suspend his communications to men. Let but the devout supplications of the united church ascend as incense to the great Father of Spirits through the intercession of his Son, and there need be no limits to the expectations of his servants. "Prove Me herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of Heaven, and pour you out a blessing that there shall not be room enough to receive it."* Not a petition should be concluded in the closet, at the domestic altar, at the social meeting, or in the public worship of Jehovah, without the supplication "Thy kingdom come."

It is an admirable law in the constitution of things that the lesser virtues wait upon

the greater. Consequent on the cultivation of these momentous means is the inferior, but not less requisite, practice of enlarged benevolence. The devotion of the heart to any cause carries in it a disposition to make any sacrifice to advance it. To pretend to be deeply concerned for the salvation of men, and yet to be backward to give money to promote it, is to insult reason, and therefore to disgrace religion. The professor, who descants with affected fervour on the importance of missionary enterprise, but who is prolific with excuses when called on to support it, may find palliatives in the selfish maxims of a frigid economy, but he does violence to moral order, and will not escape the rebuke of his Judge. Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first fruits of all thine increase, is equally the command of God as to preach the Gospel to every creature, or to pray earnestly for its success. To unite them is reasonable, natural, and religious; but to pretend to the one while neglecting the other is hypocrisy—a solemn mockery—a contradiction in language and conduct. No Christian is at liberty to consider himself an independent proprietor of his wealth any more than of his talents or of his time. He is responsible, by the very law of his profession, for its proper appropriation, while he is bound by ties of holiest gratitude to place it at the disposal of him who gave his life a ransom for many. Discountenancing the extravagant doctrines of those who advocate the surrender of all the possessions, and the abandonment of the comforts, of life, who would have men pour the fortunes with which Providence may have endowed them indiscriminately into the exchequer of the church, as subversive of propriety and as derogatory to true religion, it becomes needful to guard on the other hand against a spirit of parsimony and worldly policy—to hold up to marked disapprobation those sophistical subterfuges beneath which the professed followers of Christ too frequently conceal that covetousness which is idolatry. Let the love of God be shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto them—let but the spirit of prayer and the grace of supplication rest upon them, and generous sentiments will fill their breasts, while sound discretion will regulate their hands. There is but little danger of the liberality of men who are under

* Malachi iii. 10.

the direction of right principles exceeding the bounds of Christian prudence; or, if such cases should occasionally occur, He who searcheth the hearts will rather approve the errors of benevolence than the indifference that never stirs, the caution which always hesitates, or the supineness that ever sleeps. Hitherto the Christian church in its collective capacity has cheerfully responded to the appeals of humanity and piety, and its generosity has borne a gratifying proportion to its ever-increasing claims. It is to the honour of the churches of Christ in Great Britain that such vast amounts have been annually collected in behalf of foreign missions. Still, if the work is to be conducted on a scale at all commensurate with the territory to be reclaimed, the standard of liberality must be raised, and increased contributions poured in. A consciousness of individual responsibility must fall upon the members of the churches; no one must claim exemption, but each must present his offering—the accumulating capitalist, with the toiling mechanic; the several branches as well as the venerated heads of households; the indigent as well as the affluent. As an instance of what may be effected by a combination of effort, it is only requisite to turn to the Baptist and other churches in Jamaica. The people composing them are generally poor, and each gives but little, but, each contributing something, and doing so continually, far more is raised for benevolent objects, in proportion to their strength, than by Christian communities, however distinguished, in any other part of the world.

As the divine Redeemer advances in his glorious career, to take the heathen as his inheritance, in answer to the ascending prayers of his church, the motive for extended liberality is strengthened, and the munificence of his people will, it is confidently hoped, rise with the number and urgency of his claims.

As a spirit of enlightened commiseration for the heathen shall mingle itself yet more deeply with the piety of British Christians, instances of personal dedication to the work of missions will increase. No reflecting person can fail to trace the finger of God in the noiseless manner in which the great work has hitherto been carried on. Instead of men leaving their native shores in large bodies, and so at-

tracting the attention of society, and on alighting in distant lands awakening the suspicion of strangers, the messengers of mercy have gone forth singly and at intervals, almost unperceived, while by their seeming weakness they have excited the pity and contempt rather than roused the opposition, of foes. By this arrangement, the result of absolute necessity more than of design on the part of the churches of the Redeemer, but ordered in infinite wisdom by the blessed God, Christian doctrine, so inimical to the tastes and adverse to the established superstitions of the nations, has been silently insinuated into most unlikely regions and as leaven, promises to leaven the whole lump. By residing among cruel savages and effeminate idolaters till, by their blameless lives and disinterested efforts, they have conciliated their respect by introducing the useful arts of civilized society, or imperceptibly infusing the spirit of Christian truth into the prevalent literature, the solitary teacher, or the little unsuspected band, “has prepared the way of the Lord, and cast up in the desert a highway for our God.” Plans may now be entertained and executed which, if attempted in the earlier stages of the enterprise, would have been frustrated by unfriendly authorities, and have postponed the dawn of that day, the bright morning of which now opens so enchantingly all around. “My thoughts are not as your thoughts; nor my ways as your ways, saith the Lord.” But the time has now arrived for a bolder and more resolute assault. The apprehensions of the rulers of the earth are allayed, the base and interested nature of the opposition of corrupted priesthoods is suspected by their votaries. The peaceable and useful influence of missions on civil and social life is acknowledged. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened, and millions upon millions are “waiting for his law.” The appalling exigencies of the heathen have been rendered most affectingly conspicuous, by the startling inadequacy of all attempts which have been made to meet them. Lamps have been lighted here and there, which serve to reveal the surrounding gloom. In more than one eastern city there is but a single missionary to a hundred thousand people, and in some instances no one like-minded within a distance of a hundred miles; while in other parts, where labour-

ers are more numerous, they are altogether unequal to the duties laid upon them by their very successes. "Verily the fields are white unto the harvest." The ripening corn invites the sickle; it bends beneath its weight; it waves before the breeze. The sky is lowering, the wind moaning, the air chilling—the season will soon be past, and the opportunity ended. But where a host of hands should seize the spoil, a single reaper only appears here and there, breast high, mocked by the seeming hopelessness of his work, and dispirited by the loneliness of his position.

"Where are the youthful Christians prepared to occupy the high places of the field? Where the fathers ready to place them on this altar? the mothers ready to give them up? They can surrender them to the contagion of idolatry, of vice, of traffic, and of war. Men of science cross the seas to mark the transit of a planet, and to record the appearance of the stars; and shall sloth enervate the Christian's heart, or pusillanimity paralyse his arm? A dying world anxiously waits for a response to the appeal, 'whom shall we send, and who will go for us?'"* Churches of the living God! Families of the faithful! Seminaries of religion and learning! Ministers of the cross of Christ! your increased sympathy and aid are affectionately, but earnestly implored.†

The signs of the times, as they unfold themselves around us, strengthen the obligations and minister to the encouragement of the church. Philosophic and theoretic infidelity, once so active and obtrusive, has exhausted its resources, and grown ashamed of its sophistries, so that those energies which were required to defend the Christian faith against learned and subtle adversaries at home are now ready to be turned against systems of error and idolatry abroad. Unbelief, driven from the fortresses it had thrown around itself from the pretensions of the intellect, has taken refuge in the cold indifference or malignant resistance of the heart—a position peculiar to none, and from which men of every

clime can only be dislodged by those words "which are spirit and which are life." The convulsive throes of anti-christ; the daring but futile attempts which are making to efface the doctrines of the Reformation, and to revive the worst errors of the Papacy, call upon the churches with a voice of thunder to diffuse through all lands the unadulterated light of the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God," and to supplant the flagrant lies of the man of sin by the bold and universal promulgation of the "truth as it is in Jesus." The British arms, famous in the annals of military prowess, are, however inequitably, extending their conquests and throwing open the way to multitudinous and inaccessible tribes. Dynasties, whose date carries us back beyond the limits of historic story, and which baffle the researches of the learned, are disclosing their mysterious secrets. Haughty monarchs and imperious priests, on whom had settled the silence of ages, are dreading the approach of truth, the overthrow of their foul altars, and the invasion of their gorgeous temples. The decay of trade in our streets, and the departure of commerce from our shores, with a gradually exhausting exchequer, will speedily compel the rulers of this great empire to admit the ships of all nations to our ports, and open to our merchants the exchanges of the world. With our traffic is diffused our influence, our language, and our literature, and the way is prepared for the extension of our religion. Whilst we are summoning our hosts to the battle, our fellow Christians in the new world are equally assiduous; and by their confederacy with us are contributing to create such an amount of evidence in favour of Christian missions as cannot fail to secure for them the homage of the world, and to render most difficult, if not altogether impracticable, their suppression at any time by the enemies of liberty and religion. With such tokens glittering all around us and with the providence of God thus anticipating us, dare we pause in our course?

Nor can the issue of the struggle be allowed to be doubtful. Mere human schemes, however wisely planned and vigorously worked, are liable to be defeated. They hang upon contingencies that no forethought can prevent, and may be thrown into confusion by casualties inci-

* Hamilton's Prize Essay.

† In the world's convention, which was held in London about two years since, one of the speakers stated that a poor black man of Jamaica, who wished to go to Africa to tell the glad tidings of salvation, on being told that, among other difficulties, he might be a slave again, replied, "If I have been a slave for man, I can be a slave for God."

dent to the profoundest purposes of finite minds. But the designs of the servants of Christ, moulded according to the directions of his word, and executed in humble dependence on his grace, are in sympathy with the councils of the blessed God, and run parallel with his thoughts of love and mercy towards sinful men. They enlist on their side the perfections of Him whom no stratagems can baffle and against whom no combination can succeed. Apparently insuperable obstacles may stand in the way, and the friends of missions may meet with painful diversions and temporary defeat, but why do the "Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision." "His council must stand, and he will do all his pleasure."

It were folly to attempt to define the distinct stage at which Jehovah has arrived in his career of mercy and of love, and presumptuous to attempt to assign the date at which his beneficent purposes shall be fulfilled. "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing." We are familiar with the history of the church, but the chronology of the great work of redemption is not revealed to us. It is impossible, however, to

compare the page of prophecy with transpiring events, without a glow of expectation and hope. The Mahomedan imposture, by which the nations have been so long enslaved, is sinking beneath the weight of its crimes. Forms of ecclesiastical polity, based on usurpation, and nurtured by popular ignorance, are gradually declining throughout Europe. The oracles of truth have been translated into the most dissonant, as well as the more elegant languages of the earth. Enlarged spheres of usefulness summon the faithful to renewed activity and zeal. Almighty God, as the moral Governor of the world, is advancing with unwonted rapidity on his majestic way, and as he proceeds "every valley is exalted, and every mountain and hill is made low." His exalted Son surveys, with divine tranquillity, the turbulent elements as they roll beneath his feet, and looks with high approbation on the exertions of his servants, whilst he already hears, with sublime delight, the distant sound of a great multitude "as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia! the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" Where is the Christian who would not accelerate his triumphs?

APPENDIX.

PLAN OF A COLLEGE IN JAMAICA.

ADDRESS.

It cannot fail to have been a matter of sincere regret to the liberal and intelligent portion of the community that a colony, in all respects so important as that of Jamaica, should have been so long destitute of an institution for the instruction of its youth in the learned languages, and in the various departments of science.

As a consequence of this deficiency, all persons who have resolved to participate the benefits of a liberal education themselves, or have desired this privilege for their families, have been obliged to resort to the universities or higher schools of Europe or America,—a necessity which has occasioned many painful sacrifices to the wealthy, and been a source of no small disadvantage to society at large.

The College of Fort William in Bengal has been for years in operation, and has already secured the most important results to the middling and higher classes of British India. Similar institutions are in existence in Barbadoes, Nova Scotia, and Canada; and proposals for the establishment of a university, on a liberal and comprehensive scale, have been for some time before the public for the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. And shall the inhabitants of Jamaica be any longer debarred the inestimable privilege which such an establishment would afford, and continue subject to the reproach of such deficiency when every means for its supply is within their power,—when, indeed, scarcely any thing is required but unity of purpose and of energy? If at any one period, more than another, in the history of Jamaica, there existed a real necessity for such an institution,—and if at any time pre-eminent facilities were afforded for its establishment,—it must surely be the present. Apart from all other considerations, proprietors and other influential individuals are less capable than formerly of sustaining the heavy pecuniary expenses which a European education involves; and if this inability is experienced by many of the higher classes of society, it must be obvious that the advantage of a liberal education, in its most comprehensive sense, must be entirely beyond the reach of the intermediate portion of the community, now rapidly increasing in number and respectability.

From such considerations, and from many others of equal importance that could be urged, the immediate establishment of a COLLEGE IN JAMAICA, on principles which will enable respectable youth of all colours to reap the advantages which the most comprehensive system of education can confer, must appear to every intelligent individual, interested in the real welfare of the country, a most important desideratum.

The adoption of such a Plan would necessarily require the possession of considerable funds, and would entail difficulties, in other respects, of no ordinary magnitude. It is presumed, however, from a deliberate view of all the circumstances, that if any thing like that general sympathy is awakened to the object upon which it is reasonable to calculate, every apparent obstacle would quickly disappear, and such success ensured as the most sanguine mind could anticipate.

Deeply impressed with these considerations, the writer takes leave to submit to the liberal and enlightened public the following Prospectus of an Institution, which is designed, in accordance with the views already expressed, not only to secure to the students the best education in all the higher branches of literature and science, for which there might be any demand, and to communicate to them such course of instruction as would enable them to appear in the learned professions, but one in the proceedings and discipline of which, also, religious and political party distinctions would be unknown,—where, regarding human beings as free agents, liberty of conscience as the right of man, and literature as a common blessing,—good scholarship, good morals, virtuous habits, industry, and talent would constitute the only basis of distinction.

Should the Plan in general meet with the approbation of the public, it is desirable that such individuals as are especially interested in the object would signify that interest by communicating with the writer,* with a view to the formation of a Committee, who would mature the Plan, and begin to carry it into execution by the immediate appointment of agents authorized to collect and receive subscriptions for the purpose.

* Addressed No. 6, Fen Court, Fenchurch Street, London.

It may not be unnecessary to remark, in concluding this Address, that the important object here advocated, has already engaged the attention of several gentlemen of influence and respectability in Jamaica, who would cordially unite with others in the adoption of measures calculated to insure the immediate execution of the design.

PLAN.

I. PROFESSORS :—

In the incipient operations, when only a limited elementary course is contemplated, probably two or three Professors would be sufficient, as, with reference to many of the subjects proposed, a statement of their scope and fundamental principles, in the form of an occasional lecture, might suffice.

1. For *Languages*—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew,*—to which French and Spanish should be added, as essential.

2. For *Logic* and *Philosophy*—including the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Moral Philosophy, and Political—the latter of which involves the principles of political economy and jurisprudence.

3. For *Botany*, *Chemistry*, and *Natural History*.

The course of Political Economy might be confined to the reading of a simple elementary volume.

For the study of Natural History the proximity of a museum would offer great advantages. An occasional visit to such a collection would form an excellent comment on whatever outline of animated nature might be put into the hands of the junior classes.

A few lectures, also, on the useful arts, engineering, and manufactures, might perhaps satisfy all the requisites of the occasion. Should drawing be thought a desideratum, it should be taught by a master, and, together with tuition in the modern languages, be paid for as an extra; but the principles of perspective should be included in the course of geometry. The lectures might be delivered by the different Professors by an arrangement among themselves, under the sanction of a superior power, as is the case in many of the continental universities.

II. SALARIES OF THE PROFESSORS :—

Funds for this purpose to be raised, as well as for the current expenses of the establishment in general,—

1. Partly from the voluntary subscriptions of the public.

2. Partly by a charge of 50*l.* each per annum, more or less, to regular students; and,

3. Partly by fees for the delivery of lectures.

III. QUALIFICATIONS OF THE PROFESSORS :—

1. They should be men of an orthodox creed, of high moral character, and of liberal sentiments.

2. Persons of first rate qualifications in their respective departments.

3. Individuals who would have no other employment; and,

4. Who would endeavour to improve themselves, from year to year, in the knowledge of what belonged to their department.

IV. LENGTH OF THE SESSION :—

1. The session to commence in the month of _____, and conclude in the month of _____.

2. Ten days' relaxation at Christmas, and a month at Easter.

3. The length of the whole course of studies to be three or four years.

V. STUDENTS :—

1. All young men to be admitted who might be of good moral character, and who desire improvement in useful knowledge.

2. No impediment should arise from complexion, or from difference of religious denomination.

3. Such an institution would offer peculiar advantages to young men designed for the Christian ministry, previously to their entering on a course of theological study.

4. It might also be found highly beneficial to theological students, after having finished their course, either under a private tutor or in a public theological seminary. Such individuals might wish to spend a year at the college previously to their becoming candidates for the pastoral office. Similar advantages would be afforded by it to young men preparing for the superintendence of normal-schools. Persons of prudence and piety, with such prospects, would prove a peculiar acquisition to the college, as examples of good conduct and of diligence in study. They would, moreover, by their inspection, influence, and lessons, materially assist the juniors in their literary pursuits.

5. Gentlemen of leisure might wish to enjoy the benefits of such an institution, respectable young men in public offices, and in professional and commercial establishments. Such individuals might occasionally attend courses of lectures, &c. To young men, before immediately entering upon the business of active life in any respectable situation, the benefits which the college would confer would be incalculable.

VI. MODE OF INSTRUCTION :—

1. The University of Glasgow, it is conceived, forms the best model of any public institution in Europe in this respect, as combining—1st, Public lectures by the professors; 2nd, Careful examination of the students on those lectures; and 3rd, Frequent themes in writing on the subject of those lectures.

2. The professors should not be bound by any statutes, or otherwise, to follow any particular or precise mode of communicating their instructions, but should be expected to discharge their duties in the spirit of the existing age, and with the aid of whatever improvements the advanced state of society has discovered.

PLACE AND ACCOMMODATION.

VII. AS TO PLACE :—

A cool and salubrious *situation* would be of the first importance for the seat of the college, as an inducement to able professors from Europe, and on account of the health of the students. It should be *retired*, as a safeguard against the formation of disreputable connexions, as well as to prevent as much as possible abstraction from study. It should be, moreover, of easy access, possessing the advantages of a carriage-road; in the county of Middlesex, at no great distance from Kingston and Spanish Town, yet sufficiently within the reach of the respectable inhabitants of the colony at large, and in the vicinity of two or more places of religious worship of different denominations.

* This desirable from local considerations.

VIII. ACCOMMODATIONS:—

It would be desirable, until at least the college be established, to purchase or rent an eligible house for the purpose, but should no suitable premises offer, necessary buildings of an economical description might be erected. Funds for the purchase or rent of premises, or for the erection of suitable buildings, could be raised by voluntary subscription: or, as in the case of the London University (now University College), by a sale of shares, as a committee or a board of directors might determine.

IX. DISCIPLINE AND GOVERNMENT:—

1. It should be liberal.
2. It should be strictly observed.
3. It should consider good moral conduct as absolutely necessary.
4. It should render the college incompatible with the abode of individuals in it whose habits were not industrious.
5. It should aim to render the students useful and ornamental members of civil society, and should also regard them as immortal beings preparing for a higher destination.

Whenever the institution might arrive at a state of maturity, and the professors considered it advantageous to confer literary honours on such students as might distinguish themselves, it may be presumed that viewing the college in all its important bearings on the surrounding islands and continent (not omitting Africa), but more especially as designed for the learned education of the inhabitants of a colony at once so numerous and so generally deprived of all other means of obtaining literary distinction, the free and liberal Government of Great Britain, so interested in the establishment of all such institutions, would willingly facilitate its importance and usefulness, by granting a charter for that purpose.

In order to prepare a succession of young persons for the study of the highest branches of learning at the college, as well as to secure other important advantages, it would be desirable to connect with the Jamaica Institution, as at the London University, and other colleges on the continent of Europe, a *seminary of elementary instruction*, of which the following extract from the 'Journal de Genève,' republished in the 'Bibliothèque Universelle' of Professor Pictet, in 1817, will furnish a simple and interesting example:—

"Upwards of 200 years ago, two illustrious reformers conceived the plan of founding at Geneva a public school to *prepare* young people for the higher parts of learning. This school, which from that time has always subsisted amongst us, bears the name of college, and is divided into nine classes, in each of which beginning at the ninth, the scholars learn successively to read and write, and afterwards from the seventh to the first,* orthography, Latin, and Greek. . . . The lessons are given in each by a particular master, named the regent of the class, and who is chosen in open competition by the academy, under the special superintendence of which the whole college is

placed. Each regent give in his class from five to six hours' lessons a day. . . . I will add that all the classes of the college are held in the same building, but separate from one another; that they have all the same hours; that the regents and the scholars are constantly under the superintendence of an inspector chosen by the academy, under the name of Principal, who lives in rooms above; that once a year there are distributed publicly, and with great solemnity, the prizes they are supposed to have merited; and that at last, on passing out from the first class, they are admitted as students into the auditories, when the professors, who compose our academy, give regular lectures, on which the students are required to undergo an annual public examination." Thus the greater number of our young boys, whatever their after destination may be, receive their education at the college, and seldom leave it without having acquired the elements of Latin and Greek."

The reader in this country will perceive that what is here called the "College" answers more or less to our high schools. Their academy is what we should have called the college.—*Translator.*

NOTE

Connected with the Chapter on Agriculture, p. 37.

THE following Extract from "Chambers' Edinburgh Journal" for July of the present year, is worthy the attention of Jamaica agriculturists, as also of those in tropical climates in general:—

"In November last a notice of a new African grain was read before the Linnean Society of London by R. Clarke, Esq., senior assistant-surgeon to the colony of Sierra Leone.

"According to Mr. Clarke this grain, which is called 'fundi,' or 'fundungi,' is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Kissy village, and in other parts of the colony, by industrious individuals of the Soosoo, Foulah, and other tribes, by whom it is highly prized.

"The fundi is a slender grass with digitate spikes, and grows to the height of about eighteen inches. The ear consists of two conjugate spikes, the grain being arranged on the outer edge of either spike, and alternated; the grain is attached by a short peduncle to the husk, from which it is easily separated.

"The grain, which is cordiform (or heart-shaped) and about the size of mignonette seed, is covered by a thin fawn-coloured membrane; and when freed from this membrane is whitish and semi-transparent. It is highly glutinous, and has a delicate flavour, between that of rice and kiln-dried oats.

"Its mode of culture is extremely simple. It delights in light soils, and requires no manure, and is very prolific. It is eaten both by Europeans and natives, and is highly valued as an article of food. Mr. Clarke is of opinion that could it be raised in sufficient quantities it would become an important article of commerce, as it would prove a highly valuable addition to the list of light farinaceous articles of food now in use among the delicate and convalescent. From the specimen furnished by Mr. Clarke, the fundi grain appears to be quite as delicate as arrow-root, while it possesses a more agreeable flavour than sago, potato-starch, and other similar preparations."

* It would not be thought desirable, probably, to form the Jamaica Preparatory Institution after so incipient a model as this. The extract is introduced to illustrate the practicability and advantage of the plan.

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The worshippers of the late false gods of Greece and Rome opposed the progress of the new religion. But the results of every succeeding persecution, armed with imperial power, affording additional proof that the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church, the religion of Greece and Rome were buried beneath the ruins of their civil and political institutions. The religion of Jesus of Nazareth survived; and when the sign appeared in Heaven, "By this thou shalt conquer," it ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Genius and learning have conspired for its overthrow; and the rock remains unshaken. The insidious pen of the historian has seemed to praise while it aimed to destroy; but the simple histories of the "Fishermen of Galilee" will be received by the world, after existing empires shall have declined and fallen, and new dynasties shall have arisen. In vain did Voltaire proclaim to the world, "Crush the wretch." Every opposer of this Divine Teacher shall be brought to acknowledge, with the dying apostate Julian, "O Galilean! thou hast conquered."

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